# The Bible in Art

Estelle M. Hurll

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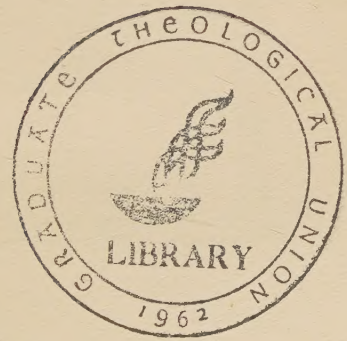
THE BIBLE IN ART



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Sistine Chapel] [By Ghirlandajo

HEAD OF CHRIST

(From the Call of the Apostles)

# The Bible in Art

By

Estelle M. Hurll

Author of
"The Madonna in Art," "Child Life in Art," etc.

Boston
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TO

THE BLESSED MEMORY

OF

My Sister Alice

# PREFACE

THOUGH the Bible is composed of many parts, written in different periods of the world's history, it is regarded throughout Christendom as a single book. It was from this point of view that the early Christian artists began to illustrate it. Their first care was to show the relation between the Old Testament and the New. In the process of time, they developed a complete pictorial plan which extended from Genesis to Revelation, from Creation to the Day of Judgment. With this great motive as an inspiration, they fashioned their mosaics, carved their cathedral fronts, designed their stained glass windows, ornamented their bronze doors, and frescoed the walls and ceilings of their churches. Century after century they laboured to translate the sacred story from one form of art into another,

until at last the world's noblest literature was matched by the world's noblest painting.

The aim of this book is to trace the development of Bible illustration from the crude pictures of the catacombs to the great art which embodied in visible form the Bible Beautiful. The story is carried through the art of various countries, and is brought down to the work of the present day. By covering so much ground, even in this brief way, we are able to get some sense of the continuity of our subject, some idea of its place in the whole history of art. And, as we go along, we can scarcely fail to see that no one can understand the great art monuments who does not know his Bible. It may perhaps be equally true — such indeed was Ruskin's belief — that no one can in any large sense understand the Bible itself until he has learned to read the art commentaries upon it.

The illustrations are from subjects of the Old Testament story and the life of Christ. They include some familiar favourites which no reader would willingly spare, and some rare and beautiful subjects less generally

known. A valuable addition to the text is in the selections from mediæval literature forming the subject matter of three Appendices. They throw a flood of light upon the study of art origins, and they are interesting in themselves for the quaintness and beauty of their diction as well as for their wonderful imagery. The index is arranged to suit three classes of readers: an Index of Artists, for the art student; an Index of Places, for the tourist; an Index of Bible Subjects for ministers and Bible students. Any details in regard to dates, Bible references, or the location of pictures omitted from the text will be found in the proper place in this index.

ESTELLE M. HURLL.

# NOTE

For almost two thousand years the Bible has been an inspiration to Art in all branches. Its divine gospel, lofty idealism, and potent style have fired the imagination of genius in literature, architecture, painting and sculpture. Its influence upon Dante and Milton is incalculable. From Giotto to Sargent, it has inspired the masters to fix their souls upon canvas and wall in transfiguring colours and form. And since this volume is concerned with Biblical art, the Publishers believe that its re-issue will be welcomed under the new and more appropriate title, THE BIBLE IN ART.

The Publishers.

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# THE BIBLE IN ART

## I

### THE BEGINNINGS OF BIBLE ILLUSTRATION

FROM the beginning of history, religion and art have gone hand in hand. The worshipper has always embodied his aspirations in some form of beauty. With the ancient Hebrews this instinct for beauty found its highest expression in poetry. Forbidden by the Mosaic law to practise the graphic arts, they wrought their spiritual ideals into a magnificent national literature. This was the literature in which Jesus was reared, and from which he drew continually to illustrate his meaning. The disciples followed the

teaching of their master in showing the relation between the law and the gospel. Thus it was that, when Christianity entered the Western world through the gates of Rome, the sacred books came with it, and from time to time added to themselves the writings now forming the New Testament.

The new religion was now to work out a new art. Since the written word could not be put into the hands of the people, it had to be translated into the universal language of pictures. Unworthy as were these first crude symbols of the noble literature which they illustrated, they were the foundation on which was builded in after years the highest form of graphic art which the world has seen.

Persecutions had forced the Roman Christians to hold their religious services in the catacombs. In these underground passages, originally constructed as burial-places for the dead, were a few square chambers (cubicula) where, hidden from their enemies, the faithful might worship unmolested. The walls of these subterranean chapels were decorated with rude frescoes, illustrating the subjects deemed most

important for Christian edification. Dimly discerned on the damp walls by the flickering light of lamp and taper, they carried a message of comfort and inspiration. Some of the decorations were mere symbols: the dove, signifying the soul; the fish and the bread, the tokens of the Saviour; the ship and the vine, the types of the Church. Christ as the Good Shepherd was represented as a youth with a lamb, or kid, on his shoulders. Other subjects were more ambitious, illustrating the stories of the Bible.

The catacombs of St. Callixtus are the most extensive in Rome, and here we may still trace a typical pictorial plan of the period. In the centre of a circular ceiling is the Good Shepherd, and in the several sections radiating from the centre are the following subjects:

Noah, floating on the water in an open ark, just big enough to hold him, arms outstretched to welcome the dove with the olive-branch.

Moses striking the rock.

Jonah, falling from a boat into the mouth of a whale (a dragon).

Jonah, climbing from the whale's mouth upon a rock.

Daniel, standing between two lions, stripped, à la Hercules.

Christ stretching out a wand toward the tomb of Lazarus. (The tomb is a tiny house, in the door of which the mummy stands erect.)

Christ, with a row of five baskets, touching one with a wand.

The man healed by Christ bearing his bed on his back.

There were good reasons for the choice of these subjects. All the pictures illustrate tales of deliverance from danger, from hunger, thirst, sickness, drowning, destruction by wild beasts, death. These were the ever present dangers threatening the Christians themselves. They took fresh courage from this assurance that their God was able to deliver them. Moreover, there is no doubt that the subjects were all used with a certain sacramental significance, derived partly from the Bible, and partly from the mysticism of the early fathers of the Church. Noah and the ark and Moses at the rock, were types of Baptism (1 Peter

3: 20-21 and 1 Cor. 10: 2-4); Jonah's deliverance from the whale (Matt. 12: 39-40) and Daniel's safety among the lions were significant of the Resurrection. The miracle of the loaves was significant of the Lord's Supper.

It is interesting to notice that the Old Testament subjects were greatly in the majority in the catacombs, occurring, according to Lord Lindsay, "at least ten times more frequently than those selected from the New."[1] Thus were the Romans taught the old Scripture stories which every Jewish child learned at his mother's knee. The same compositions were repeated with slight variations throughout the principal catacombs of Rome, and also appear among the sculptured decorations of early Christian sarcophagi. Even in these beginnings there was an apparent attempt to crystallize doctrine into a definite and systematic art scheme.

With the conversion of the Emperor Constantine, a new chapter opened in the story of Bible illustration. The Christians gradually

[1] See the "History of Christian Art," Vol. I., for Lord Lindsay's valuable interpretation of the "Creed of the Catacombs."

abandoned their subterranean chapels and began to build churches. The zeal for building grew into a mighty wave of enthusiasm which swept all over Europe in the Middle Ages. The distinctive spirit of each race was worked out in the architecture, the Romanesque in the south, the Gothic in the north. In the Romanesque churches of Italy the chief decoration was in mosaics. Composed of small cubes of tinted glass, patiently welded together in pictorial designs, these mosaics gleamed on walls and ceilings with a splendour of colour undimmed, even to the present day. Artistically far in advance of the crude frescoes of the catacombs, yet by no means approaching the beauty of fully developed mural painting, they mark a most interesting intermediate stage in the progress of art. The subjects of the mosaics were chiefly religious (that is, when not purely ornamental), forming again a picture Bible for the edification of the common people. In the meantime, however, a much better understanding of the Bible had been brought about by St. Jerome's Latin translation, though this of course was not in

the hands of the people. The Christian art-repertory was constantly enlarging, and the emphasis was transferred from the stories of the Old Testament to the person of the Saviour. The figure of Christ enthroned was the chief decorative motive in the apse, the most sacred portion of the church building. Sometimes the apostles, or more rarely the prophets, were included in the composition. Types from the Apocalypse were perhaps next in importance, for in this period Christian thought turned often to the second coming of Christ and the joys of Paradise. The Baptism of Christ was another subject in evidence.

The rigid quality of the mosaic material demanded a certain simplicity and severity of design which did not lend itself readily to story pictures. In spite of these difficulties, some churches contained entire series of Bible illustration from the Old Testament and the New. One of the oldest of these is the fifth century work in the church of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, a mosaic frieze of some thirty Old Testament subjects. Above the chancel arch are subjects from the New Testament. One

of the finest series is that in the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, dating from the erection of the church by Theodoric the Great. The twelve on the left illustrate Christ's ministry, the twelve on the right the Passion. An interval of some centuries separates this work from the mosaics of the cathedral of Monreale, Sicily, where again the Bible story is told with much detail in two rows of twenty Old Testament pictures, and some sixty or seventy scenes from the life of our Lord.

But it is at St. Mark's, Venice, that the most complete mosaic Bible is found. The church is like a jewelled reliquary, with mosaics encrusting the inner surface of the clustered domes of the roof. The work is of various dates and unequal merit, but, as we see it today, we must regard it in its entirety. The vestibule is given entirely to Old Testament history, filling the six cupolas with quaint illustrations. In the church proper, the first dome contains the Descent of the Holy Spirit; the second, over the centre of the church, the Ascension, the vault between being devoted to scenes of the Passion, Crucifixion, and Resur-

INTERIOR OF ST. MARK'S, VENICE

rection. The cupola over the altar contains the Christ enthroned with the patriarchs and prophets. The minor cupolas are given to the details of the life of Christ, the lives of the apostles, and finally to the Apocalypse. Thus, taken as a whole, every really essential subject or story between the covers of the Bible is translated into the mosaic pictures of St. Mark's.

Returning to the vestibule for more careful study, we find that the Old Testament story is told in a series of one hundred and twelve subjects, from the Creation to the Rock of Horeb. The deity is represented only by a hand with a pointing finger enclosed in a star-spangled semicircle. The figures are very long and stiff, and the sense of proportion is quite absurd, nevertheless, with the help of our Bibles and the quaint Latin inscriptions, we may easily decipher the meaning. The series is plainly an attempt to present a more or less complete chronological record, but the apportionment of space seems almost accidental: nineteen pictures for Abraham, forty for Joseph, and only ten for Moses.

The choice of subjects in all mediæval Bible illustration was entirely in the hands of the clergy, for art was still a handmaid of the Church and had no independent rights. To understand the full significance of this curious art material, one must know something of the doctrinal literature which shaped it. This was the literature produced in the monasteries, written, of course, in Latin, and derived from the Bible. A most important work of this class was the "Byzantine Manual,"[1] written supposedly by one Dionysius. It was a complete enumeration of all the Bible subjects suitable for illustration, accompanied by specific instructions for each composition. It opens with the Prologue in Heaven, and continues through one hundred and thirty-six Old Testament subjects, called the "Wonders of the Law," followed by the "Wonders of the Gospel" (one hundred and fifty subjects), the Apocalypse, and the Last Judgment. The subject of the Last Judgment is an elaborate development of some obscure passages

[1] A selection of subjects from this "Manual" forms the material of Appendix III.

St. Mark's, Venice] [Mediæval Mosaic

NOAH RECEIVING THE DOVE INTO THE ARK

of Scripture referring to the final consummation of all things. The Hebrew prophets had much to say of God's judging the righteous and wicked,[1] and Daniel, in one of his visions, foresaw a time when "many of them that sleep in the dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (Dan. 12:2). Our Lord also told his disciples of a time when the Son of Man shall be seen "coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory" (Matt. 24:30). St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians of this mystery, predicts the moment when "the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed" (1 Cor. 15:52). And St. John, in his Revelation, "saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened . . . and the dead were judged . . . according to their works" (Rev. 20:12). By brooding over such suggestions, a powerful imagination, like that of Dante, formulated a complete scheme of the future life. "The Divine Comedy," rather than the Bible

[1] Ecc. 3 : 17 ; Isaiah 2 : 4 ; I Sam. 2 : 10 ; Ezekiel 7 : 3.

itself, became the people's guide on this subject. The "Dies Iræ," written by Thomas of Celano, in the same period (thirteenth century), was another vivid word-picture of the last day, or "Day of Wrath,"[1] and was the basis of many a painting.

Quite different from any of these are two other famous pieces of mediæval literature, the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis" (Mirror of Human Salvation) and the "Biblia Pauperum" (Bible of the Poor), in which the events of the Old Testament are collated with those of the New, as type and antitype. The "Mirror" was written in rhymed verse, the "Biblia" in prose and verse, combined with Biblical quotations, and in both cases the text served as a sort of framework for illustrations. Though the authors are unidentified, they were undoubtedly monks, men thoroughly versed in the Hebrew Scriptures, and full of that spirit of mysticism so characteristic of the Middle Ages. The "Mirror" brings to bear upon each one of the twenty-seven scenes

[1] The "Dies Iræ," as rendered into English by General Dix, is reprinted in Appendix I., also the still earlier Latin hymn on the Judgment Day, "Apparebit Repentina Dies Magna Domini."

from the life of Christ three Old Testament subjects, with some substitutions from pagan mythology. The "Biblia" consists of forty sections, in each one of which two Old Testament types are related to some Gospel motive.[1] It is as if the doctrine of Old and New Testament correspondence, first suggested in the decorations of the catacombs, had now been built up into an elaborate scheme.

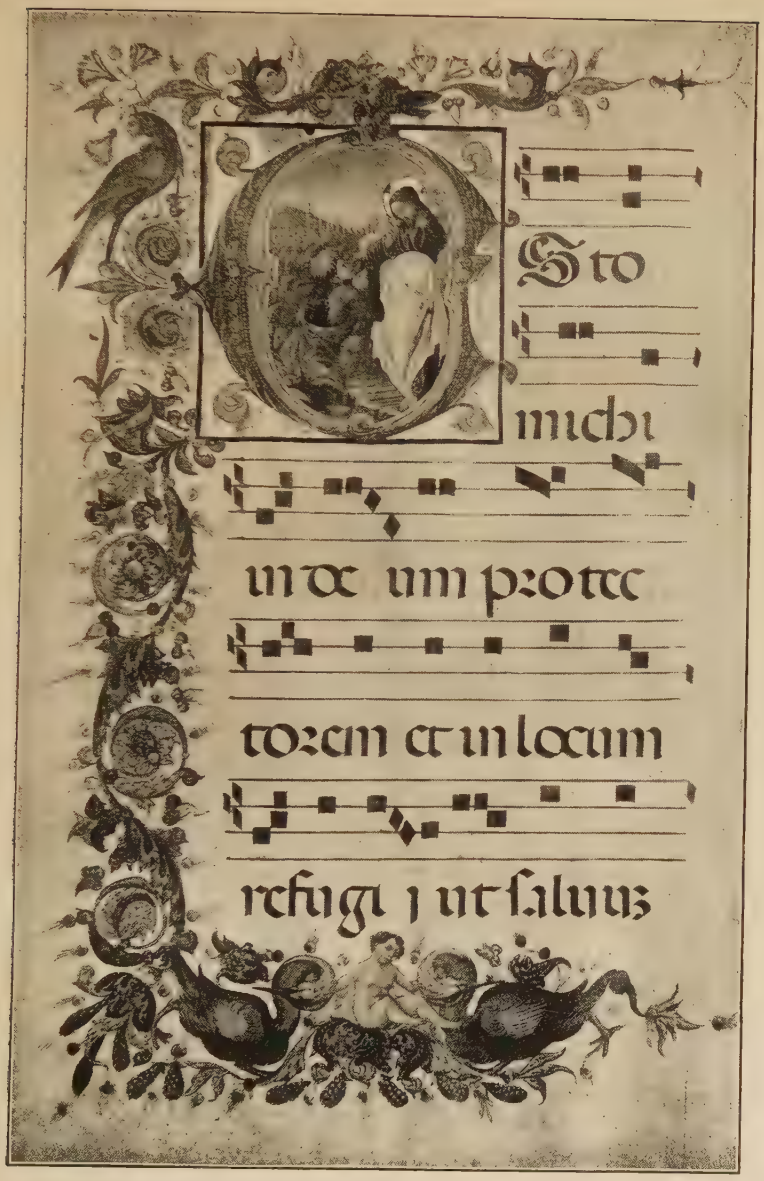
Some of the correspondences are exceedingly ingenious, not to say far-fetched, and could never be understood without the explanatory paragraphs accompanying. Others, with or without the authority of the New Testament writers, are obviously appropriate, like the association of Abraham's sacrifice with the great Sacrifice, or of Moses lifting up the serpent with the Crucifixion (John 3: 14). These two subjects obtained for many centuries as leading motives in Christian art. The relation of the Fall of Manna to the Lord's Supper is also clear (John 6: 58), but it is rather more mystical to trace the origin

[1] A complete outline of the subjects of the "Biblia Pauperum" forms the subject matter of Appendix II.

of this sacrament to the bread and wine offered to Abraham by Melchisedec (Gen. 14: 18 and Heb. 7). The emphasis upon Job, as a prototype of the suffering Christ, is based upon St. Jerome's teaching as well as upon St. James (James 5: 10-11). All these groups of subjects are still retained in the Table of Lessons prescribed in the Prayer-book for the services of Holy Week.

For several centuries the "Mirror" and the "Biblia" were copied in manuscript, and illustrated by various miniaturists of different nationalities. Didron mentions a beautiful specimen of the "Biblia" in the British Museum, illustrated by a painter of the Dutch school, and two copies of the "Mirror" in Paris, illustrated by Florentine painters of the school of Giotto.[1] Such monuments of monastic industry are among the most interesting art products of the period. The lettering and illumination are still the envy of the twentieth century printing-press; the bright colour and gold enamel still hold their own

[1] Didron's "Christian Iconography," translated from the French by E. J. Millington, and completed with additions and appendices by Margaret Stokes.




Siena Cathedral Library] [By Liberale da Verona

PAGE OF ILLUMINATED CHOIR BOOK

(Christ healing the blind man in the initial)

as brilliantly as mosaics. All sorts of books used in the church service were decorated with these beautiful miniatures of varying sizes from the full-page picture to the tiny gem inserted in an ornamental initial. The miniature art was continued well into the Renaissance, long after other forms of painting had developed. In the meantime the subjects of the "Biblia Pauperum" and the "Mirror" were transferred to all sorts of art forms on a larger scale in mural painting and sculpture. We shall come upon them again many times in the following chapters.

Closely connected with these mediæval methods of Bible illustration were the dramatic representations called Mysteries, in which, first by tableaux vivants, and then by acted dialogue, the Bible stories were presented to the public on the Church festivals, originally in the churches, and later in the open air.[1] The scenes, as first arranged by the Church authorities, were close reproductions of typical pictures.

[1] We read in the life of Isabella d'Este (by Julia Cartwright) of the Old Testament tableaux given at Aix in honour of her son, Federigo Gonzaga.

In England, during the centuries when the graphic arts were practically nil, these mysteries were developed on a grander scale than elsewhere in Europe. There were the Chester Plays, the Townley, the York, the Coventry, and other series. Some such cycles occupied over a week in acting, presenting a systematic scheme of Bible history from the Creation to the Day of Judgment. The dramatic climax was in the subject of Redemption. The Old Testament furnished a number of introductory subjects: the Creation and Fall, the story of Cain and Abel, the story of the Flood, and the Sacrifice of Abraham. The Flood was the most popular bit in the whole cycle, affording some delightfully comic situations in the altercations between Noah and his wife, who persistently declined to embark upon a seemingly unnecessary voyage.

The Passion Play at Oberammergau, a modern survival of this mediæval drama, still illustrates the close connection between the Old Testament history and the life of our Lord. Each act of the play, as will be remembered, is preceded by symbolic Old Testament

tableaux, and the same thing is true of the less widely known Passion performance at Brixlegg in the Tyrol. Some of the correspondences at Oberammergau are drawn directly from the "Biblia Pauperum": the Last Supper prefigured by the Fall of Manna (John 6: 31-35); the Betrayal of Christ by the Sale of Joseph by his brethren; our Lord's trial before Pilate by the False Accusation of Daniel.[1]

Still another class of mediæval Bible illustration remains to be considered — the Gothic sculpture. Scattered among the towns of northern Europe are the great stone cathedrals with pointed arch and soaring tower, which expressed the northern spirit of religious aspiration. The exterior is a mass of ornamental sculpture: richly carved bas-reliefs and innumerable statues, row on row. What the mosaics were to the mediæval churches of Italy, this sculpture was to the Gothic churches of France. To the uninitiated the multitude of figures is a meaningless chaos, with no purpose save that of decoration. The antiquarian

[1] See this subject in the "Biblia Pauperum," Appendix II.

loves to go further, and decipher here and there some old story of Bible hero or mediæval saint. Didron believed that the key to unlock the secret was the "Speculum Universale," or Universal Mirror. This work was a kind of mediæval forerunner of Bacon's "Novum Organum," and was written by one Vincent of Beauvais, a friend of Louis IX. and tutor of the royal children. The aim was encyclopædic: it was an attempt to classify in one colossal system all branches of human knowledge, under the heads of Nature, Science, and History. This outline, it was claimed, formed the basis of the decorative plan of the cathedral of Chartres. The Nature section deals with the Creation, and is illustrated on the cathedral by thirty-six bas-reliefs and seventy-five statues. The historical section considers six ages of man, from the Creation to the thirteenth century, and is illustrated in the decorations of the cathedral porches. Here is worked out in outline the entire Bible history, — the lives of Old Testament characters and the life of Christ. Still another portion of the historical section deals with the future: the scenes

CENTRAL DOOR OF AMIENS CATHEDRAL

(Christ on central post. The Apostles at right and left. The Last Judgment in the tympanum)

of the Apocalypse and the Last Judgment. These also are prominent subjects on one of the porches.

From Chartres one naturally reasons to other French cathedrals. Making liberal allowances for individual peculiarities, there is a striking correspondence in the subjects of their decorations. If these do not point, as some believe, to a common mediæval source, they all go back to a common source in the Bible itself. It is safe to say that every French cathedral has illustrations of the Genesis story, the Nativity, and the Last Judgment. Every cathedral has also a place for Moses and the prophets, for the apostles and evangelists. Melchisedec is usually in evidence as the founder of the priesthood, and Job, as the prototype of the suffering Saviour. A common feature is a group of Old Testament personages forming a sort of guard of honour for the Virgin. The following table affords a comparison of the group in three of the foremost French cathedrals:

| CHARTRES | REIMS | AMIENS [1] |
|---|---|---|
| (*North Porch, central bay.*) | (*Right-hand arcade of façade.*) | (*South Porch, Portail de la Vierge dorée, 2d tier in arched recess.*) |
| | | Adam digging. |
| | | Noah building ark. |
| Melchisedec. | Abel. | Melchisedec. |
| Abraham offering Isaac. | Abraham offering Isaac. | Abraham offering Isaac. |
| | | Isaac blessing Jacob. |
| | | Jacob blessing Joseph's sons. |
| | | Job. |
| Moses with serpent. | Moses with serpent. | Moses with serpent. |
| | | Aaron with rod. |
| Samuel. | | Samuel. |
| David. | | |
| Isaiah. | Isaiah. | |
| | | Judgment of Solomon. |
| | | Judith and Holofernes. |
| Jeremiah. | | |
| Simeon. | Simeon. | |
| | | Judas Maccabeus. |
| St. John Baptist. | | |
| St. Peter. | St. Peter. | |

[1] For an analytical description of the sculpture of Amiens, see Ruskin's "Bible of Amiens."

We cannot leave the Gothic cathedrals without a digression touching the stained glass windows in which prophets and kings so frequently figure. Sometimes they are mingled together in long series, as in the Norman cathedral of Seez. A series exclusively given to kings is in the north aisle of Strasburg. At Chartres are some quaint windows, representing the four great prophets bearing on their shoulders (pickaback) the four evangelists: Isaiah with St. Matthew, David with St. Mark, Jeremiah with St. Luke, and Ezekiel with St. John (in the south transept). Another curious Old Testament subject in mediæval glass is the Jesse tree, for which careful instructions are given in the "Byzantine Manual" (in the Wonders of the Gospel). This is a genealogical tree of Jesus, growing out of the breast of Jesse, who is at the foot. The successive kings are represented among the branches, and Jesus himself is at the summit. There is such an one in the choir of San Lorenz, Nüremberg, and another in the Cologne Cathedral. There are several interesting specimens in England, one of which is in Win-

chester College Chapel. It is in these ways, rather than by story pictures, that the Old Testament is illustrated in window art. A singular exception is where one would least expect to find it — not in France, the land of fine glass, but in Italy, where it is so rare. They are at Assisi, in both transepts and the choir, quaint illustrations of the Creation and the lives of the patriarchs, by unknown hands, contemporaneous with the painters of the walls.

The influence of the French cathedral sculptors made itself felt in some measure in other countries. It bore fruit in Germany in the cathedral of Strasburg, where, as at Amiens and Reims, the west front is pierced by three doors, whose arched recesses are filled with figures of saints, including the prophets, kings, and apostles of Bible story. It crossed the Channel to England, and appears at Wells, whose west front is the "richest assemblage of sculpture ever gathered into an architectural monument." In the successive rows of the vast decoration, the third is called "the Bible tier." It consists of forty-eight quatrefoils,

the series south of the centre illustrating the Old Testament story, from the Creation to the Death of Jacob, and those on the north, continuing around the tower, representing the life of our Lord.

Strasburg and Wells are, however, exceptions in their respective lands. It is in France chiefly that the mediæval spirit developed a method of sculptured Bible illustration which might almost be called the Bible in Stone. We are now to see what was in the meantime doing in Italy in the way of Biblical sculpture.

## II

### THE BIBLE IN ITALIAN SCULPTURE: MEDIÆVAL AND RENAISSANCE

ITALY was far behind France in the development of sculpture. It was nearly a hundred years after the making of the west front of Chartres before the Italian school could fairly be compared with the great French cathedral sculptors. Then came Niccolò, the Pisan, who rediscovered a world of beauty in the old Greek sarcophagus standing in the cathedral of his own town. From this momentous event was developed the line of sculptors who filled the churches of Italy with their beautiful work. The sculpture of mediæval Italy had differed from the French not only in quality but in form. The difference grew out of the totally dissimilar architectural

ideals of the two countries. Italy offered her sculptors no opportunities like those beyond the Alps, of covering her cathedrals with a multitude of statues, preferring coloured marbles and mosaics for such purposes. Here and there only may be found an Italian church where the mediæval sculptor made a timid attempt at storied bas-reliefs around the portal somewhat after the northern manner. Such, for example, are the cathedrals of Modena and Ferrara, and such, too, is the church of San Zeno at Verona. These three cases are worth noting, because in every instance the subjects unite in the typical manner the Old Testament with the New, the Genesis story with the life of Christ.

In a general way, these church decorations — especially those at San Zeno — may be regarded as the germinal idea which flowered so magnificently in the cathedral of Orvieto. The entire flat surface of the first story of the façade is covered with bas-reliefs. They form on each of the four piers a delicate arabesque tracery, in whose convolutions are figures and groups illustrating Bible story.

Each has apparently emanated from a different school of art: the Creation (Florentine), the Old Testament history (Sienese), the life of Christ (Florentine), and the Last Judgment (Pisan).

The stories read quaintly from the bottom upwards (as at San Zeno, Verona), and illustrate with mechanical exactness the detail of the narrative. On the Creation pier we learn how the Master-Craftsman, having made the animals, set them in orderly rows and bade them live; how, having brought Adam through the successive stages of the creative process, he laboriously removed a rib from the man's side, and presently extracted Eve from the cavity; how, after the Fall, the guilty pair grovelled like animals in the shelter of a bush, to hide from their Maker; how they were at last found and rebuked, and how the six-winged angel drove them forth, threatening to belabour them with his huge sword; how the exiles fell to work, Adam with his pick, and Eve with her spindle; how Cain and Abel offered their respective sacrifices; and how Cain slew his brother.

Orvieto Cathedral] [Florentine School

THE STORY OF CREATION

If the sculptor's imagination was crude and childish, it was at least fertile and vigorous. Faults of drawing aside, there is something rather fine about the Creator's head, and the accompanying angels are really lovely. The compositions are certainly far ahead of the absurdities of St. Mark's mosaics, and are saved from grotesqueness by their decorative quality. Set in the exquisitely graceful framework of the surrounding arabesques, the general effect is charming.

The next pier is less perfectly decorative, because more crowded with figures. It is, besides, rather difficult to decipher, but the general aim is clear enough: the selection of subjects which foreshadow the redemption. The visits of angels to Joshua, to Balaam, and to Gideon are here, and here the anointing of David, the prophet king, the presentation of the prophet Samuel, and the Vision of Ezekiel. Hence this is appropriately called the pier of Prophecy, and the idea is carried out in a series of prophets cut in small circles on the outer edges, while ovals running through the centre contain a series of Hebrew kings.

The pier devoted to the life of our Lord, known as the pier of Redemption, matches the pier of Prophecy in decorative method, and illustrates a dozen subjects from the Annunciation to the Crucifixion. The pier of the Last Judgment corresponds in style to the pier of Creation, and, in Professor Norton's opinion, is the finest of all in imaginative power.[1] In the lower compartments the joys of the blessed are contrasted with the agonies of the condemned; in the upper portions are successive rows of the elect, Christ the judge at the top accompanied by the prophets and apostles. Artistically, the four sections of the façade form a symmetrical whole, while in subject matter they are a concise summary of the four fundamental beliefs which mediæval theologians derived from the Bible: that God made the world, revealed himself in history, offered redemption in Christ, and will determine the ultimate destinies of mankind.

The sculpture of Orvieto Cathedral was executed in the fourteenth century, and became

[1] See Charles Eliot Norton's "Travel and Study in Italy": chapter on Orvieto.

a great training-school for the artists of the next two hundred years. Duccio and Giotto, Signorelli and Raphael, studied here, and from these works, directly or indirectly, Ghiberti and Michelangelo derived many ideas. The church is as unique in Italy as Wells is in England; in no other Italian church was the same method of decoration pursued. A century later, when Jacopo della Quercia was called to ornament the church of S. Petronio, Bologna, he reverted to the mediæval method of surrounding the door with ornamental bands of bas-reliefs. Here the pilasters are devoted to Old Testament subjects (five each), supporting the lintel, on which is related (also in five subjects) the story of the infant Jesus. To make the connection between the old dispensation and the new, a series of bas-relief busts of prophets forms one of the several ornamental bands, filling the deep door recesses on each side. In point of workmanship, the transition from Orvieto to S. Petronio is a leap from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. The tools which the mediæval sculptor used so clumsily are now well in hand. Ja-

copo had a rare sense of beauty, and carried out at will his graceful fancies. The Creation, though still a literal story, is no longer a mechanical act. The Creator, though still a mortal man, has the bearing and demeanour of authority. The figures of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, the family of Noah, Abraham and Isaac, are modelled with the grace and dignity derived from the Greek.

From these scattering examples of an art which was exceptional rather than characteristic in Italy, we turn to a form of sculpture which may fairly be called indigenous to the soil. This was the making of bronze doors ornamented with bas-relief decorations. Mediæval Italy was rich in these treasures, profusely illustrating the Bible stories. The traveller comes upon them here, there, and everywhere, as at Amalfi and Verona (San Zeno), Monreale, Benevento,[1] and Pisa. Some of these, like those at San Zeno and Monreale, divided the subjects between the Old and New Testaments. Others, like those at Benevento

[1] Marcel Reymond (Vol. I. of "La Sculpture Florentine") gives a list of these gates.

and Pisa, were devoted exclusively to the life of Christ. The door of Pisa was the forerunner of the famous gates of the Florentine baptistery. Every visitor to Florence knows these beautiful doors, and loves them not only for their storied panels, but for the framework in which they are set, richly ornamented with fruit, flowers, and birds, and interspersed with exquisitely modelled busts and statuettes.

The quaint old octagonal Baptistery of Florence antedates the cathedral and tower opposite by many centuries, reaching back into the misty period when it was common practice to raze Roman temples to furnish materials for Christian churches. As early as the time of Dante, who loved to call it his "beautiful St. John," it was the heart and centre of Florentine religious life, the pride of the city. Successive generations delighted to add one embellishment after another, continuing even after the cathedral and campanile were building. In 1329, the Consoli d'Arte determined to have a Baptistery door as fine as that of the cathedral at Pisa, and the work was entrusted to Andrea Pisano. The subject of

the decorations was naturally to be the life of St. John the Baptist, to whom the church was dedicated.

Andrea was the pupil of Giovanni, who was in turn the son of Niccolò of Pisa. Representing thus the third generation from the founder of Tuscan sculpture, it was Andrea's part to make a decided advance upon his predecessors. The simplicity and clearness of his compositions is indeed a marked improvement upon the crowding and confusion of the older sculptors. Dividing his space into twenty-eight quatrefoils, he filled each one with a design so distinct and telling that the Baptist's story is intelligible at a glance. The two lower rows of panels are filled with single figures of the Virtues, elegant and graceful in modelling.

Years passed, and Florence was on the threshold of the following century when a plague visited the city. In the hope of averting the terrible calamity, the Guild of Wool Merchants proposed to propitiate the Powers by a new door for the Baptistery. To secure the best possible results, a competitive exam-

ination was held, Abraham's Sacrifice being the subject assigned. The winner, as all the world knows, was Lorenzo Ghiberti, a young fellow of twenty-one working in his father's goldsmith's shop. His prize panel may still be seen in the National Museum at Florence. Though two of his rivals, Donatello and Jacopo della Quercia, proved themselves subsequently to be better men in some respects, posterity has always been well pleased with the decision of the thirty-four Florentine judges. Ghiberti devoted more than twenty years to the making of the great gate illustrating the life of Christ. In general method he wisely followed the footsteps of Andrea Pisano, apportioning his space in precisely the same way. It was to be expected that he would profit by three-quarters of a century's art progress by modelling his figures with more grace and freedom. On the other hand, the most beautiful panels are those in which he follows Andrea most closely, or, in other words, in which the designs are most simple, like the Crucifixion and the Annunciation, and the single figures of the doctors and evangelists. In

other panels he shows the tendency to multiply figures, which he developed so highly later on.

The completed door was received with such enthusiasm (1424) that the happy sculptor was straightway set to work upon another to illustrate the Old Testament story (completed 1447). The subjects were chosen by a historical writer of the time, Leonardo Bruni (of Arezzo), in whose letter to the Florentine consuls two essential qualities are mentioned: (1) that "the subjects should above all be capable of illustration;" (2) that "they should be significant." The times had indeed changed, for in the Middle Ages the second requisite had always been accounted first. That pictorial quality should now be placed "above all" shows the working of the leaven of the Renaissance.

Perhaps the most beautiful subject on the gate is the first, or Creation, panel, where, with rhythmic flow of wings and fluttering garments, the angels circle about the new-born Eve, and sweep downward from the upper air in the trail of the divine glory. As in the nearly contemporaneous work of Jacopo della

Baptistery, Florence] [By Ghiberti

THE OLD TESTAMENT STORY

Quercia at Bologna, the Creation is raised from the mechanical plane of the Middle Ages to a level of dignity and beauty. The story moves on through the pastoral scenes in the lives of Cain and Abel, Noah and Abraham, to the more stately illustrations of the lives of Jacob and Joseph, where graceful groups are relieved against architectural settings, thence to more crowded dramatic scenes in the lives of Moses and Joshua, to the Battle with the Amalekites, ending with the elaborately balanced composition of the Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon.

With a scheme of ten large panels against the twenty-eight small quatrefoils of the earlier gates, Ghiberti had now full scope for working out his compositional passion in his own way. He proceeded precisely as if he had been a painter, with command of all the means of tone and perspective. Each panel is filled with figures, and is made to do duty for several episodes in the fashion prevailing among painters. By a system of graded reliefs, the sculptor threw into the background, in low relief, figures supposed to be far away, and

modelled in high relief those occupying the foreground. It is doubtless in some measure this remarkable pictorial quality, added to the large size of the panels, which has made this gate so famous. However questionable the critics may regard this practice of turning sculpture into painting, the uncritical public is delighted with the result. Nevertheless, the deeper reason of the immense popularity of the door is in Ghiberti's gifts of artistic imagination, his sense of beauty, his feeling for poetry, and his rare dramatic insight. It is for these qualities that Michelangelo found him worthy of imitation, and pronounced the wondrous gate "fit for the door of Paradise."

The Tuscan school had now well-nigh perfected the art of bas-relief, which was their favourite and most characteristic form of sculpture. The next step was to re-create as it were the old classic art of the statue in the round. This was the distinctive work of Donatello, the greatest Italian sculptor previous to Michelangelo. Various Bible heroes appear among his subjects, though they are not always readily recognized. The little

bronze David is a charming boy, lithe and graceful, but one would never take him for the champion of Israel. With his wide-brimmed hat, picturesquely trimmed with a leafy garland, he is rather like a young faun. Nor is the marble youth David, with his engaging swagger, a bit nearer the truth. He is too fine to impersonate the rugged shepherd lad. The sculptor had better success with St. John the Baptist, who appears to have been a favourite subject. We see him first in his innocent childhood, a slender, long-limbed boy, carrying his reed cross with an air of quaint seriousness. Again he is represented as a youthful hermit of the wilderness, with emaciated limbs and austere countenance. The head is that of a poet, with rich, clustering curls. The face is still beardless, and the young man bends over his scroll with absorbed interest. Later he appears as the stern prophet, whose mission is the call to repentance. Solitude and fasting have made him still more eccentric in appearance. A long skin garment is wrapped about the wasted figure. The unkempt hair and beard frame the

thin face and emphasize the hollow cheeks. There is a strange and melancholy dignity in the whole figure, an emanation of spiritual power from the sunken eyes impossible to have conveyed in a more outwardly beautiful form. The same thing is true of Donatello's Magdalene, a figure which to the unseeing eye is strangely grotesque.[1]

It was another phase of Donatello's art to let his model possess him: the statues of this class are portrait studies of an almost startling realism, often unconventional to the point of ugliness, and intensely expressive. The subject assigned was of small consequence: he produced a great work of art which others might name at their pleasure. No one is quite sure that the Joshua and Habakkuk were originally so designated, though in these cases the present titles fit the figures fairly well. One is a stalwart young man with the thick neck of the fighter, the other, a singularly strong and aggressive personality. No one has been at pains to invent Scripture names for "Il Poggio" and "Il Zuccone," though

[1] The location of these works is indicated in the index.

Duomo, Florence] [By Donatello

JOSHUA

they appear in Bible company. "Il Poggio," if not actually the portrait of the Florentine statesman whose name he has borne so long, is unquestionably some important personage of Donatello's time, with the fine, thoughtful face of a Hebrew prophet. As for "Il Zuccone," who, having once seen this strange old man looking out of his niche on the Florentine Campanile, could ever thereafter think of him by any other name than that of the sculptor's own choosing, the "Gourd," or "Baldhead"? The statue became indeed a sort of familiar spirit to Donatello, whose strongest oath was "by my Zuccone." It was an amusing irony of accident which gave this most unkingly figure the pedestal of an older statue inscribed "David Rex." Next to "Il Zuccone" on the Campanile is another statue by Donatello, occupying the old pedestal of a Solomon, but usually known as Ezekiel.

These works of Donatello were among a series of Bible statues made for the Duomo and Campanile of Florence through a period of many years. The fourteenth century sculptors, Andrea Pisano and Niccolò d'Arezzo,

had a share in the work, as well as Donatello's contemporaries, Nanno di Banco, Nanni di Bartolo, and Ciuffagni, each one producing several pieces. Ciuffagni's so called King David and Isaiah have a strength and individuality deserving recognition. The prophet is "an old man with a great beard," as dictated by the "Byzantine Manual," and the king, if rather plebeian and unpoetic, is an interesting character. Luca della Robbia was also a contributor to the sculpture of the Duomo. There is nothing in the interior of this church more purely Biblical in character than the companion bas-relief lunettes over opposite doors, representing the Resurrection and the Ascension of the Saviour.

Less than a decade elapsed between the death of Donatello and the birth of the great sculptor whose coming his own work in some measure foreshadowed. Michelangelo's youth fell in the time when Florence was dominated by two powerful personalities, and he gained something from each. To Lorenzo de' Medici, his patron, he owed his early love of Greek sculpture, while the preaching of Savonarola

Florence Academy] [By Michelangelo

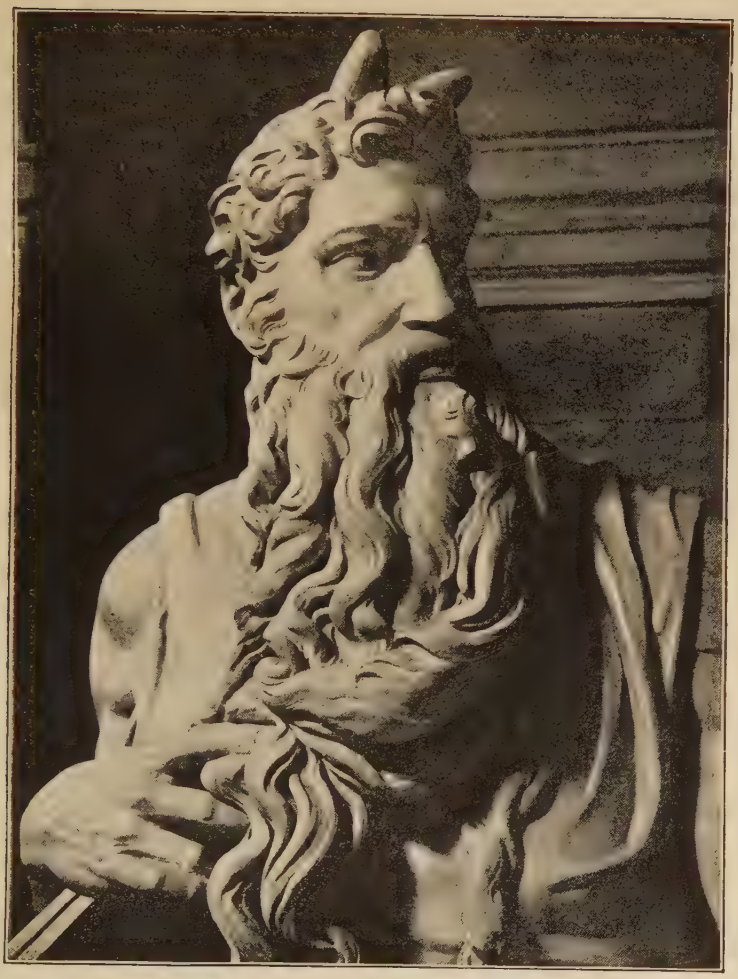
HEAD OF DAVID

quickened the natural seriousness of his temper. A Florentine of the Florentines, he embodied that passion for pure form and the informing sentiment of piety which were the distinctive features in the art development of this city.

The artistic triumph of his young manhood was the making of the great statue of David. Others beside himself had coveted the privilege of using the block of marble from which it was hewn; but he alone could devise a figure to fit it without waste or piecing. Alone in his workshop, he fell upon the marble with hammer and chisel in a fury of inspiration, and the old chronicler tells how the chips flew so fast that none dared come near. In somewhat over two years' time, the statue was ready to be set up in the square of the Signoria, in front of the Old Palace. In the sculptor's mind the subject was emblematic of the valour of Florence in the face of her enemies. The figure is that of an uncouth stripling, with powers as yet undeveloped, but full of latent energy. The hand is large and heavy, as becomes the strength of a shepherd. The head

is beautiful, yet without softness. From beneath the shaggy, overhanging brows, the youth glowers at his enemy with indomitable courage. For nearly four centuries the statue kept its vigil, suffering no greater accident than the loss of an arm, whose fragments were happily saved and restored. And when, at last (1873), wisdom dictated its removal to a place of shelter in the Florence Academy, the historic square was bereft of one of its chiefest treasures.

If the David is the characteristic expression of Michelangelo's youth, his maturity is best represented in his Moses. The statue was the first of the series of colossal figures with which he intended to adorn the magnificent tomb of Julius II., then just begun. It is one of the familiar tragedies of art history that the statue remained forty years in the artist's studio, like Moses himself in the wilderness, while successive Popes wasted the sculptor's time, and the grand original design dwindled in proportions. In its crowded position on the present insignificant monument (S. Pietro in Vincoli), it is the chief reminder of



S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome] [By Michelangelo

HEAD OF MOSES

a glory that was not to be revealed. Produced in the earlier stages of the work on the tomb, it does not show the "terrible" qualities of the Master's later days, such as are seen in the figures of the Medici chapel (Florence). Though noble and godlike, it is not, like them, altogether awesome. In it was wrought much of the sculptor's own personality. The haughty aspect of the lawgiver reflects the spirit of the man who dared to defy a pope. With sternness is also blended some suggestion of the poet, in the long, curling beard. As in the David, the leading note is the implication of motion. Even in the sitting posture the figure is ready to spring to the feet. If there is anything to detract from the nobility of the conception, it is the symbolic horns, which are rather unpleasantly goat-like. The sculptor was following St. Jerome's Latin translation of the passage in Exodus, describing the appearance of the prophet on coming down from the mountain: "Moses' face was horned" (Ex. 34:30[1]).

[1] St. Jerome's Latin version of the Bible is known as the "Vulgate," and is translated from the Latin into English in the "Douay" Bible.

The real meaning of the text, as shown in later versions, is that Moses' face was transfigured by the reflection of the divine glory. The thought is far too ethereal to admit of material expression, but we have constantly to remind ourselves that Renaissance art must be measured by the material standards of the age.

With all his absorption in artistic problems, Michelangelo did not lose sight of the subject he was illustrating. He was thoroughly in sympathy with the Scriptural personalities he sought to idealize. The Moses and David have passed into history as accepted ideals. No artist has since been able to represent these characters without challenging comparison with the great Florentine statues. The figures inevitably rise before the mind's eye when we read the Bible story. Though the sculptor was not permitted to realize his dreams of other Biblical statues, he was still to remain a Bible illustrator, and in a different realm of art, as will presently appear, he carried on his work to the highest point of achievement.

## III

### THE BIBLE ILLUSTRATED SERIALLY IN ITALIAN FRESCO PAINTING: THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, AND EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY

ALL this time Italy had her painters in growing numbers, from Giotto to Michelangelo, adding the crowning glory of their work to this brilliant period. The humble frescoes of the catacombs, which were the origin of painting, had been followed by the mosaics, and these in turn were gradually replaced by wall paintings for the decoration of Italian churches. For a period of three hundred years, from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century, there was a veritable passion for mural painting. Florence was the centre

of the impulse, which spread in all directions throughout Italy. Unlimited space was at the painter's command: painting was literally measured by the acre The walls of churches and monasteries, halls and palaces, were converted into mammoth picture-books for the enjoyment and instruction of the common people. It was in this way that the people came to know their Bible, much better perhaps, even though they could neither read nor write, than the twentieth century American, with his free schools and printed Bible.

In many of the earlier decorations the entire Bible story was outlined in illustration. The choice of subjects was guided by the several pieces of mediæval literature we have noted, more especially the "Byzantine Manual" and the "Biblia Pauperum."[1] The Old Testament subjects were usually placed on one side of the nave, opposite their corresponding subjects from the life of Christ. This was the plan in the upper church of Assisi, as nearly as can be made out from the remains of these

[1] See Appendices II. and III. for these pieces of mediæval literature.

quaint thirteenth-century works. It was probably the plan mapped out for Giotto's work in old St. Peter's. In the church of S. Francesco, Pistoja, was another of these old picture Bibles, which some vandals of a later day overlaid with whitewash. In much better condition (perhaps repainted) is the series in the Pieve, at S. Gemignagno, by the fourteenth-century Sienese painter, Bartolo di Fredi. Here we trace with delight the familiar tales from the Old Testament: the Creation, the Expulsion, Cain and Abel, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Job. These Old Testament subjects are on the left, the life of Christ is on the right, and the Last Judgment is around the central window. Still another most interesting and complete Biblical scheme of decoration was that in the nave of the church of Pomposa (near Ferrara), by a fourteenth-century painter of Giotto's school. There are here three rows of pictures: the top row illustrates the Old Testament from Creation to Joseph, the next or middle row represents the Gospel story, and the lowest row contains scenes or visions from the Apocalypse.

Side by side with these strictly Biblical series was developed another class of religious art subjects based upon legendary material. It was a period when little distinction was made between history and tradition, fact and fancy. To the stories of Bible heroes had been added, little by little, through the centuries, romantic stories of the saints and martyrs. The life of Christ, as related by the evangelists, had been supplemented by traditions of the Virgin. At length all these tales, at first passed from father to son, by word of mouth, were gathered up and committed to writing. The most famous compilation was the "Legenda Aurea," the Golden Legend, arranged by Jacopo da Voragine, a Genoese archbishop of the thirteenth century. We are familiar with it to-day through reprints of Caxton's quaint English version of the sixteenth century. Together with other works of a similar nature, all supported by the authority of the Church, the Golden Legend became a powerful rival of the Bible in the hearts of the people. All this explains why the Bible, important as it was, and as it continued to be,

did not stand alone as a religious art motive. It explains the difficulty of finding any Bible illustrations which are not in some measure confused, or mingled with extraneous matter.

We may see how the Bible was linked with mediæval legend in both the churches of Assisi. The frescoes just alluded to, in the nave of the upper church, do not occupy the entire wall space. Beneath them runs the full story of St. Francis's life, in twenty-eight scenes. In the lower church, the disciple is glorified far above his master, Giotto's finest work here being devoted to the subject of St. Francis. It is only in the transepts that we find the Bible story, collated even here with the life of the patron saint.

The story of Jesus, related here by Giotto, brings us to the first successful effort to make the Life a reality. Giotto was an innovator. Even the "Byzantine Manual" could not prevent him from using his eyes. He understood human nature, he had some humour, and he knew how to tell a story. He knew how a young mother yearns to fondle her newborn babe; he knew how a careful husband,

leading his family on a journey, looks back at every step to see if all is well; he knew how the youth who is curious peers forward, how the man who is perplexed fumbles his beard, how the woman crazed with anguish tears her hair. Such are the touches of nature which make the Assisi frescoes, in spite of archaic drawing, real human documents.

The series in the Arena Chapel, Padua, whether later or earlier in time, is still better. Here Giotto reigns alone: the whole pictorial plan of the place is his. His theme is the two-fold story of the life of the Virgin, and the life of Christ, completely covering the walls and vaulting of the little building. It would be impossible to overestimate the influence of this work upon successive generations of Italian painters. Nor did its mission end in Italy. It was a set of engravings from these compositions that aroused some young English painters of the middle nineteenth century to the Preraphaelite revival. The subjects drawn directly from the Bible are twenty-four in number, from the Annunciation to the Descent of the Holy Spirit. It was the typ-

Arena Chapel, Padua] [By Giotto

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

ical Gospel series of the period, which made no place for the practical scenes of Christ's ministry, the preaching and the healing; but emphasized the Infancy and Passion, as embodying the two vital Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and Redemption.

Again, as in the Assisi series, but here much more boldly, the human note is struck with wonderful comprehension. Some of the situations seem drawn directly from life: the baby struggling to free himself from Simeon's embrace; the bystander at Lazarus' tomb, averting his head at the noxious odour of mortality; the youth in the Triumphal Entry smothering himself in the garment he hastily pulls over his head; the master of the wedding-feast, with his rotund figure and self-important air, testing the quality of the wine. A hundred homely little details like these make the story vivid.

But, while Giotto had a genius for the homely and actual, he was none the less an idealist. The annunciate Virgin, kneeling above the arch at the east end, has an august dignity scarcely to be surpassed. The figure

of the Saviour, bearing his cross to Calvary, has a grandeur which makes us forget the indignity of his burden. Summing up all Giotto's good qualities, it was preëminently his poetic and dramatic gifts which make him the prince of illustrators. Where else in art have we anything to compare with the poignancy of the Lamentation over the dead Christ, the heavenly calm of the Resurrection morn, the joyous ecstasy of the ascending Saviour, borne upward with a flight of adoring angels?

There are still other Bible illustrations to be counted in the long list of Giotto's mural paintings. In the opinion of critics, some of his finest work was in the decorations of the Peruzzi Chapel, S. Croce (Florence), representing scenes from the lives of the two Saints John. The life of the Baptist is outlined only by the romantic story of his birth and his tragic death. Especially dramatic is the scene at the altar, where the angel appears to the old priest Zacharias (Luke 1: 11-12), and the story of the Naming (Luke 1: 63) is also capitally illustrated. The subjects from the life

of St. John Evangelist are drawn from traditional, not Biblical, sources.

The school of Giotto went on through the fourteenth century, painting the Bible story in various forms. The Spanish Chapel (Florence) is a famous treasure-house of this later Giottesque work. Here the Bible story is strangely intermingled with monkish legend and mediæval allegory to form a remarkably interesting decorative scheme. To pick out only the Bible subjects: A noble Crucifixion fills the altar end, the Saviour's cross towering in the midst, the crosses of the two thieves standing apart on each side. Not a single detail of the narrative has been forgotten. The sorrowing women stand in a group near the repentant thief, and St. John is with the mother. Opposite are the soldiers, casting lots for the seamless garment. About the central cross the throng is thickest: there are soldiers bearing spears, and one has a sponge. Some jeer, others seem perplexed; the centurion, on a splendid white horse, clasps his hands, exclaiming, "Truly this was the Son of God" (Matt. 27:54). In mid-air

hover a company of angels in every attitude of grief and sympathy.

On the vaulted ceiling all four subjects are Biblical, each one filling a triangular space. Here is the story of that stormy night on the sea of Galilee, when Jesus walked across the water to the ship of the disciples, bidding Peter step forth to meet him (Matt. 14: 22-25). Here is the picture of the Easter morning: the women hastening to the empty tomb with their pots of ointment, to find the angels awaiting them (Mark 16: 1-6). Here is the Ascension, with the disciples kneeling on the hillside, gazing upward at the glorified Saviour (Luke 24: 50-51). Here is the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the heavenly dove sending forth rays of light to kindle a flame on the head of each waiting disciple (Acts 2: 3).

On the threshold of the fifteenth century stood Masaccio, who, like Giotto, was an innovator. His work made a connecting link between the old and the new art of painting. The Bible frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel (Church of the Carmine, Florence) are his monument, and were a training-school for the

later Renaissance painters. Here he attacked and solved various problems of technique of which his predecessors had been quite ignorant. Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Raphael (not to mention all the lesser men) had much to thank him for. The subject of the Brancacci Chapel decorations is the life of St. Peter. The series is prefaced by the Fall of Adam and Eve, and the Expulsion from Paradise, and thence goes on to Peter's story, as related in the Gospels and the Book of Acts, interspersed with subjects from the Golden Legend. The work covered a period of some years, and, besides Masaccio, Masolino and Filippino Lippi had a hand in it. There has been much disputing among critics as to the proper attribution of the subjects, but there is no question as to Masaccio's Tribute Money, which, in some respects, is the finest work in the place. It is a long picture, including the three episodes of the story (Matt. 17: 24-27). In the centre of a landscape, such as no other painter of the day could have done, is a noble group of the disciples, gathered about their Master. A Roman official has entered in

doublet and hose, and demands the tribute money. Our Lord replies with a fine gesture, bidding Peter go to the neighbouring bank and draw a fish from the water. At the left, the apostle is seen at this task. At the right, he appears again, handing the coin to the officer. The admirable simplicity of the grouping is a new departure from the stiff and childish methods of earlier painters, while the dignity and beauty of the Christ became a model for later Christian art. In some of the other subjects, the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul are strikingly individualized. The latter was the inspiration for Raphael's Paul preaching at Athens.

In the general movement of the fifteenth century toward new methods of painting, one man stood apart from his times, and, by a child-like simplicity in motive and technique, seemed more closely allied to his predecessors than to his contemporaries. This was Fra Angelico, the painter monk of S. Marco, known among his brethren as Fra Giovanni. He had entered the Dominican order in his young manhood, and was nearly fifty years of age when he

Monastery of S. Marco] [By Fra Angelico

THE RESURRECTION

removed with them from Fiesole to the newly repaired monastery in Florence. His gifts had already been known (chiefly, however, in miniature painting), but his life-work lay before him. He began at once to decorate the bare walls of his convent, and worked on until cloisters and dormitory were peopled with the radiant company of his visions. The great Crucifixion of the Chapter-house is the most ambitious of his compositions here. It is an idealized treatment of the scene, the twenty spectators representing the pious of many ages. The devotional sentiment is in the painter's finest vein. A generation later Ghirlandajo painted the Last Supper in the small refectory, or dining-hall, and, still later, Sogliano painted the same subject in the larger refectory. These three works are the most important Bible subjects of the ground floor of the monastery. It is on the upper floor that we find Fra Angelico's Bible. The first thing that we see as we ascend the stairs is the beautiful Annunciation on the corridor wall. This was Fra Angelico's favourite subject, painted many times with slight varia-

tions. The Virgin is always the same slender, timid girl, crossing her hands on her breast, her slight figure bending humbly to receive the celestial guest. The angel is always young and fair, with a flame-touched brow and a heavenly smile. He wears a long bloused tunic, edged with a band of gold embroidery, falling in soft folds about him. The wings are long, narrow pinions of iridescent hues. Such are the tokens by which Fra Giovanni's angels have become universally known, and by which he won his best known name. Other angels are more grand or glorious, but none are so angelic.

To imagine the S. Marco dormitory as it was in Fra Giovanni's day, one must obliterate mentally the present partitions between the cells. The pictures which we now see one by one at the end of each cell then formed a continuous series on the long walls at right and left. The theme is the life of Christ, told with an idyllic simplicity and charm. Of tragedy, the gentle monk in his secluded life had known nothing. He is childishly inadequate in all scenes of grief and suffering. In

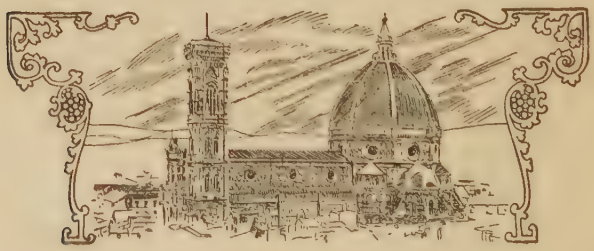
Chapel of Nicholas V., Vatican] [By Fra Angelico

ST. STEPHEN PREACHING AND ST. STEPHEN BEFORE THE COUNCIL

happy subjects he is at his best — the Annunciation, the Presentation in the temple, the Resurrection (or women at the tomb), and the Appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene. The sweet serenity of these pictures is beyond description. They are the highest expression of the pure, unworldly spirit of the contemplative life. The Transfiguration strikes a deeper note. The figure of Christ, in a great nimbus of unearthly glory, towers to majestic height upon the mount, the arms extended as on the cross. No other painter has put the same mystic grandeur into the scene.

The fame of the S. Marco frescoes was not slow to reach the ear of the Pope, who sent for the painter to come to Rome, where he passed the ten remaining years of his life. The work of this period is much more sophisticated and finished than the frescoes of S. Marco, but nevertheless — perhaps on this account — is not so touching. In the chapel of Nicholas V., the painter illustrated the life of St. Stephen in a course of lunettes running along the three sides of the wall above the

life of St. Lawrence. It is a typical instance of classing together a Biblical and a mediæval martyr, giving first place to the latter. The account in Acts is quite closely followed in the six subjects which outline the short career of the young deacon. St. Stephen Preaching and St. Stephen Distributing Alms are the best pictures, bringing out most clearly the gentle spirituality of the painter. It was also during the Roman years that Fra Angelico made a journey to Orvieto to decorate the vaulting of a chapel. Here he gathered into a single noble group Bible heroes of all the ages uniting in praise of God. David is here with crown and harp; Moses, with the tables of the law; and prophets, with their books and scrolls. The whole conception is a beautiful expression of the unity of Bible history.



## IV

### THE BIBLE ILLUSTRATED SERIALLY IN ITALIAN FRESCO PAINTING (*Continued*): LATTER HALF OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY

AS the spirit of the Middle Ages finally yielded to the progressive influences of the Renaissance, the field of painting was constantly enlarged. By the middle of the fifteenth century, art had ceased to exist solely for the Church, and was employed more and more for secular purposes. Rich noblemen vied with one another in adorning their palaces with mythological subjects, or scenes from contemporary history. Duke Borso d'Este's famous Schifanoia Palace at Ferrara, the palace of the Gonzagas at Mantua (decorated by Mantegna), the Piccolomini frescoes in the Siena Library (Pinturicchio), are illustrations

in point. The wonder is that, with all these new resources, the Bible, intermingled though it often was with mediæval legend, still retained a place of honour in art. An unbroken line of notable mural decorations continued through the Renaissance to set forth the subjects both of the Old and the New Testaments. Quantitatively indeed, they make a small showing in the whole vast art product of the period. But this is a case where quality counts most. From an artistic standpoint they are all exceedingly important. The painters of Florence continued foremost in this class of work; almost every one contributed his quota of interesting material to Bible interpretation.

A delightful page of the Gospel story is Ghirlandajo's life of St. John Baptist, painted on the right wall of the choir of S. Maria Novella (Florence). The story reads in the oddly reversed manner of an earlier period, from below upward and from right to left, through three courses of two panels each, surmounted by a seventh arched compartment. The subjects are: the Angel appearing to Zacharias, the Visitation of Mary to Eliza-

S. Maria Novella, Florence] [By Ghirlandajo

THE NAMING OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

beth, the Birth of the Baptist, his Naming, his Preaching, the Baptism of Christ, and the Dance of Salome before King Herod, this last incident, as will be remembered, being the indirect cause of St. John's execution. The frescoes are thoroughly typical of the prevailing ideas of the time concerning Bible illustration, as exemplified also in the work of Botticelli and Filippino Lippi. The Renaissance Florentines were not disturbed by historical anachronisms. Their architecture was drawn from Florence, lavishly ornamented with the Greco-Roman features, which the classic revival made so popular. Their landscape pictured the banks of the Arno, though without much naturalism. The dramatis personæ were in the traditional types inherited from the Byzantine models. For the other figures making up the scene, as spectators or assistants, they took their own contemporaries, friends or patrons, Ghirlandajo being particularly strong in portraiture. The domestic customs of patriarchs and apostles were freely rendered into contemporary Tuscan, as observed in the palaces of the rich. The com-

positional principles were strictly academic, with symmetrically balanced groups, and a decided partiality for arranging figures, trees, and buildings in straight geometrical lines. It is interesting to compare with Ghirlandajo's story of the Baptist another series on the same subject done a generation later, with a freer, one might almost say a more modern touch. This was the joint work of Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio in the Scalzo, or cloister of the Barefooted Monks. There are about a dozen subjects, and the work is in monochrome, in *grisaille,* or gray tints.

In the meantime the Old Testament had been by no means dropped out of sight in mural decorations. Unhappily, however, some very interesting Old Testament illustrations of the period have suffered much from the ravages of time and dampness. One of these is the pictured Genesis on the walls of the so-called "Green Cloister" of S. Maria Novella (Florence). The subjects cover the usual ground: the Creation and the stories of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and Noah. Here are two of the best works of the little

Cloisters of the Scalzo, Florence] [By Andrea del Sarto

THE PREACHING OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

known painter, Paolo Uccello. A true naturalist was this Paolo, whose love of animals had given him the quaint nickname, Uccello, or Bird. He had been a pupil of Lorenzo Ghiberti, and had besides learned much, not taught by masters, from his own observation. The Deluge and the Sacrifice of Noah were a revelation to his contemporaries, so far were they in advance of the time, in the mastery of perspective. The other frescoes of the series are supposed to have been painted by Paolo's friend, Danielo, called Dello Delli. They are so inferior to their companions that their present state of obliteration is counted no great loss to art. On the other hand, the reader of Vasari does not cease to regret that some portions of Uccello's work, most carefully described by the old historian, are most injured.

Much to be regretted, too, is the destruction of Baldovinetti's frescoes in the church of S. Trinità, Florence, where the Old Testament story was fully worked out. Only a few fragments remain to suggest the qualities which Vasari (with some extravagance, no doubt)

attributed to him: the figures of Noah, Abraham, Moses, and David on the ceiling of the choir, and the lunette of the Sacrifice of Abraham. Like Paolo Uccello, and others of his day, Baldovinetti was extremely zealous for the scientific or technical aspect of painting. Among the lost pictures was the Queen of Sheba before Solomon, which we should be glad to see if only for the portrait it contained of Lorenzo de' Medici. In others of the series were other interesting portraits: Giuliano de' Medici, Luigi Guicciardini, Filippo Strozzi, and Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, the astrologer.

Much more famous and extensive — probably the most complete Old Testament series ever painted — is that by Benozzo Gozzoli in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Benozzo had begun life as a worker in metal and was an assistant of Ghiberti on the Old Testament Baptistery gate. He was afterward with Fra Angelico in Rome. His later career reflected much glory upon both masters. From Rome he returned to Florence, and in the private chapel of the then Medici (now Riccardi) palace

achieved one of the finest decorations of the period. The subject was the Adoration of the Kings, the Mother and Babe painted on the altar wall (since removed for a window), while all the remaining wall space is occupied by the magnificent retinue of the three royal visitors, winding along the circuitous mountain roads of the distant country. The rôles of the three kings are impersonated by three dukes of the Medici family. Benozzo Gozzoli was now at the height of his fame, and it is not surprising that he was called to Pisa in 1469 to undertake a great commission in the Campo Santo there.

The Campo Santo is literally a "holy field," in that it is filled with earth brought from the Holy Land in the thirteenth century, to make a burial-place for the dead. The cemetery is surrounded on all four sides by a Gothic loggia, or cloister, built by Giovanni Pisano, and forming a rectangular court. The inner walls of this enclosing gallery are pierced by long windows opening on the Campo. The opposite walls have been decorated throughout their entire length by successive generations of mural painters, uniting to make a vast Bib-

lical picture series. The most ancient of the frescoes are those on the east wall, painted before the middle of the fourteenth century, and ascribed to Buffalmaco. They represent the Passion of Christ, his Resurrection, his Appearance to the Disciples, and his Ascension. Primitive as the workmanship is, there is evidence here of great imagination. Of about the same date are those famous allegorical works on the south wall: the Triumph of Death and the Last Judgment.[1] At the farther end of the same wall is a series of six pictures illustrating the life of Job, who, as we have seen, was an important personage in mediæval theology. These are attributed to Francesco da Volterra (fourteenth century), and there is much force and expressiveness in the work.

The north wall, in its entire length of four hundred feet, was set apart for a complete Old Testament cycle. A beginning was made in the last decade of the fourteenth century, starting at the west end with three compart-

[1] The reader who is familiar with these works will be interested to compare them with the corresponding subjects in the "Byzantine Guide to Painting," Appendix III.

ments: the Creation and Fall, the story of Cain and Abel, and the Deluge, attributed to Pietro di Puccio (da Orvieto) and executed with admirable simplicity and directness. By way of introduction, is a diagram of the universe, like a huge cart-wheel, held in the hands of the Creator. The Building of the Ark and the Sacrifice of Noah remind us of a child's drawing on a slate.

The work now suffered a lapse of nearly seventy years when Benozzo was called to complete it. He took up the story just where Pietro had left it, going on with the life of Noah, and thence to the lives of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses, to the Fall of Jericho and David's victory over Goliath, — in all, twenty compartments. Time has dealt roughly with these once splendid works. Here and there the colour has peeled off in great patches, and imagination must aid the eyes in reconstructing the lost portions of its fading glories. Yet, even in its decay, the series retains great charm, — is perhaps even more fascinating for its elusiveness. Fortunately, early in the nineteenth century a set

of engravings was made by the famous Lasinio, who interpreted the old pictures with remarkable fidelity. With Lasinio then as a guide, where the present pictures fail, we enter the new world of Benozzo's creation, an enchanted country of stately cities, builded solidly of temples and palaces; where Greek porticoes and Roman triumphal arches jostle Romanesque domes and Renaissance loggie; with turrets and minarets rising among the square battlemented towers of feudal castles in a delightful fantasy of architecture. The landscape is decorated with rows of ornamental trees, trimmed in geometrical patterns, as in Italian gardens. Even the camps have an air of elegance, with lines of tents like the pavilions of a garden party. In this wonderland of the artist's imagination, fit setting for the tales of the "Arabian Nights," move the noble old men who figure as the patriarchs, Abraham distinguished from Noah chiefly by his bald head, and Moses from Isaac by the rays of light diverging horn-like above his brow. To each one the divine message is spoken by a

Campo Santo, Pisa] [By Benozzo Gozzoli

THE VINTAGE OF NOAH

visible deity appearing as a half-length figure leaning out of a circular glory in mid-air.

Whoever made the selection of subjects, the motive seems like that of the Ghiberti gate, chiefly picturesque and historical, though incidents of doctrinal significance are retained, like Abraham's Sacrifice and the Brazen Serpent. For the rest, there is a great deal of variety. There is the Vintage of Noah, prelude of his downfall, which might illustrate an idyl of Theocritus. The rich grapes hang over the trellis, or pergola, and maidens move to and from the wine-press, with baskets poised gracefully on their heads. In a similar pastoral vein is the story of Jacob and Rachel, where youth and maiden meet and kiss at the well, and where their marriage is celebrated by an al fresco dance. The marriage festivities of Isaac and Rebecca consist of a banquet laid in the rich loggia of a palace, and the feasting proceeds amid a fanfare of trumpets.

Abraham's life moves amid more strenuous scenes. After faring forth to Egypt through a pleasant garden country, we see him next in

full armour, directing an attack upon the kings who had taken Lot captive, and returning victorious, to receive the bread and wine from the hands of Melchisedec. In scenes like these the artist was perhaps least successful, as again in the Crossing of the Red Sea and the Destruction of Sodom. Benozzo was, in fact, too good a decorator to succeed in subjects so unfit for decoration. He is more at his ease in simpler episodes, like the Sacrifice of Abraham, or the Visit of the Three Angels. He is most impressive perhaps where, against a stately architectural background, he summons well-ordered groups of dignified personages, many of them portrait figures, charmingly relieved by children. Whatever the theme, there is no sign of hesitation or timidity on the part of the painter. He had an extraordinary fertility of imagination, and, where he did not invent, he borrowed. In the subjects treated on the Ghiberti gate, he draws freely from the compositional motives of his old master: the group of Abraham and Isaac at the altar, Isaac sending forth Esau to the hunt, Isaac blessing the kneeling Jacob, and

the Almighty appearing with trailing clouds of angels to Moses on the mount.

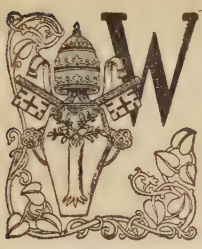
Benozzo's work bears all the common Florentine earmarks, though possibly he took more liberties with his architecture, and was less skilful with portraits than many. His perspective was decidedly primitive, as was also Botticelli's; this point was but slowly mastered in Florence. Late in the fifteenth century, it was still a common, if not universal, custom to represent the successive episodes of a story by several groups in the same plane, duplicating and reduplicating the figures. The effect is amusing when Benozzo tells the story of David. The young shepherd hurls a stone at Goliath, and the giant staggers beside his prostrate double, on whom David's double springs blithely to sever the head of his antagonist. Just beyond, the third David walks triumphantly away with the head (number three) of Goliath.

Benozzo had the true story-teller's gift, and, if he did not rise to the noble dignity of some of his contemporaries, his lighter touch and exuberant fancy saved him from dulness, and

made every picture entertaining. As a decorator, he is seen best in the work of the Medici (Riccardi) chapel. As a *raconteur,* he showed what he could do in the Campo Santo, leading us on from one story to another, as if fairly revelling in his great opportunity. His imagination never failed him, and he poured into his work a romantic joyousness of spirit, a childlike delight in pure beauty, such as his own period and his own country could alone have produced.

# V

## THE BIBLE IN THE FRESCOES OF THE VATICAN: THE SISTINE CHAPEL, RAPHAEL'S LOGGIA, AND THE HALL OF HELIODORUS



WHILE Benozzo Gozzoli was at work in the Campo Santo at Pisa the Pope Sixtus IV. was having a chapel built in the palace of the Vatican at Rome. It was to be on a much larger plan than the chapel in which Nicholas V. had taken so much pride a generation before, but, like that, was to be made beautiful with mural painting. For this purpose the Pope called to Rome, in 1481, the best men then available. Botticelli was made superintendent, the other men being Cosimo Roselli, Ghirlandajo, and Perugino, and probably Pinturicchio and Signorelli. The somewhat ungainly proportions of

the room (about 150 x 50 feet) present an immense amount of wall space for decoration. The six windows of each side are set as high as possible, running just below the arched ceiling. Beneath this, and forming as it were a frieze, is the series of panels assigned to Botticelli and his company. Their task was to illustrate in parallel incidents the life of Moses and the life of Christ, the founders of the old and new dispensations.

The story began with the pictures of Jesus in the manger and Moses in the bulrushes, painted side by side at the altar end. Then follow, in proper order, six panels on the right side devoted to the life of Christ, and six on the left illustrating the life of Moses. The subjects facing each other have some sort of symbolic correspondence, which is not always obvious, but which we can approximately guess out. What adds to our difficulty is the fact that on the Moses side all the pictures are composed of various small groups illustrating different incidents, and sometimes what seems to be the principal group, artistically speaking, is by no means the most important subject.

INTERIOR OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL

Meeting such difficulties as best we may, we make out the following table of correspondences:

The circumcision of Moses' son (Ex. 4:25), the rite of Jewish citizenship (Gen. 17:10-14), prefiguring the Baptism (Matt. 3:13-17), the rite of membership in the Christian Church (Matt. 28:19); Moses overcoming the Egyptian (Ex. 2:12), prefiguring Jesus overcoming Satan (Matt. 4:1-11), or Moses' forty years in Midian (Acts 7:30), prefiguring Jesus' forty days in the wilderness (Matt. 4:2); the call of the Israelites as a separate people (on the shore of the Red Sea) (Ex. 15:13 and 17), prefiguring the call of the apostles (at Lake Gennesaret) (Matt. 4:18-22); Moses receiving the law on the mount (Ex. 24:12), prefiguring Christ's sermon on the mount (Matt. 5, 6, and 7); the punishment of the false priests (Numbers 16:1-35), prefiguring the establishment of the apostolic church (Matt. 16:18-19); Moses' farewell to Joshua (Deut. 31:23), prefiguring Christ's farewell to his disciples at the Last Supper (Matt 26:29).

The culminating subjects on the wall at the farther end are the Resurrection of Jesus and the Burial of Moses. These are too poor to count seriously, and the altar paintings at the opposite end were afterward destroyed for reasons to be explained. The work of the side walls still remains of immense importance to the tourist and art lover.

The story of Moses is told with considerable circumstance, from the Slaying of the Egyptian to the meeting with Zipporah among Jethro's daughters at the well; from the divine vision in the burning bush to the return journey from Midian to Egypt; from the exodus of the Israelites to their triumphant arrival on the farther side of the Red Sea; from the reception of the law on Mt. Sinai to the angry destruction of the tables and the final delivery of the commandments to the people; from the first denunciation of the false priests to their ultimate destruction; from the outlook over the promised land to the parting charge to Joshua and the mountain burial, the story moves, not quite smoothly or chronologically, not always adequately, never very dra-

Sistine Chapel] [By Botticelli

MOSES LEADING THE ISRAELITES OUT OF EGYPT

matically, but on the whole pleasantly and intelligibly, with certain passages of great picturesqueness, and others which are really noble.

The two panels by Botticelli are undoubtedly of first importance, though compositions so large as these do not bring out well his best decorative gifts. Nor are the subjects such as would appeal most to his poetic fancy, though he makes them serve his own ends remarkably well. It was like him to give the charming character of an idyl to Moses' gallantry at the well in Midian (Exodus 2: 16-21), making this the central episode of the first panel. Here we see the woman with the long, wistful, oval face and the clinging draperies we have come to consider Botticelli's own invention. At one side is an interesting group of Israelites, portraits of Botticelli's contemporaries, whom Moses leads forth like a veritable knight-errant. The Destruction of the false priests (Numbers 16: 1-35) is in a much sterner vein, and, if it is a trifle stagey, Botticelli has at least saved it from pettiness. The story is told in three groups, brought into

unity by a triumphal arch in the middle distance. In each group the lawgiver appears as the instrument of divine vengeance, and the commanding dignity of the old man is not a little impressive.

Roselli's figure of Moses is in painful contrast to Botticelli's noble ideal, and that, too, in the subject requiring most of the artist, — the delivery of the law (fourth in the series). The lawgiver is a mild old man without any distinction, and with a singularly flattened contour of the head which marks his inferiority. Needless to say that the difficult subject of the Passage of the Red Sea (third in the series) is made of little account in hands so incompetent. On the whole, Roselli's work is pretty generally considered the poorest in the series, though it is said that his papal patron, knowing little of art, and attracted by certain showy qualities and a lavish use of gold, pronounced it the best. The two remaining panels (the first and the last in the series), like the Baptism of Christ on the opposite side, are of doubtful authorship. One seems to detect the hand of Pinturicchio in the charming

children of the first, the characteristic anatomical modelling of Signorelli in the youths of the other, and a similar handling of the landscape in the two. The picturesque qualities of both panels are very interesting. In the first, Moses' progress from Midian to Egypt is arrested by the angel of the Lord drawing sword upon him (Exodus 4:24). The mild surprise in Moses' countenance — of the weaker Italian Christ type — and the complete indifference of his family divest the situation of any dramatic quality, and in the adjoining group, linked to the first by the angel's figure, the circumcision of the eldest son is performed amidst a circle of dignified spectators (Exodus 4:25). The other panel of disputed authorship brings Moses' career to an end in a benignant old age. There is indeed little of the lawgiver or the prophet in the bland old gentleman reading the law to the people, or bestowing the rod of authority upon his youthful successor. But, while the figure lacks the majesty of Botticelli's Moses, it is far superior to Roselli's, and sums up fitly

the gentler aspects in the complex character of the old Hebrew hero.

On the life of Christ side, the subjects are the Baptism, the Temptation, the Call of Peter and Andrew, the Sermon on the Mount, the Charge to Peter, and the Last Supper, all having an ecclesiastical bearing. The aim was to set forth the origin of the church sacraments, and the establishment of the apostolic order. So zealous indeed were the Church authorities for these matters that, strangely enough, they made no room in their plan for the culminating scene in Christ's life — the Crucifixion. We can, however, scarcely regret the omission of a subject which other painters have made so painfully prominent in decorative schemes. We must remember, too, that the symbol of the cross, used in every service held here, is intended as a constant reminder of the great Sacrifice, supplying, so to speak, this missing link in Christ's story. With a point of view so distinctly doctrinal, we have here no such story-telling as Giotto and Benozzo Gozzoli might have given us. There is, on the whole, even less dramatic

action in the pictures than in the Moses series. On the other hand, possibly on this account, this side of the chapel is rather better decoration. Three of the six panels are of the same composite order as their opposite mates, but with better centralization of material: the Baptism (Perugino or Pinturicchio), the Temptation (Botticelli), and the Sermon on the Mount (Cosimo Roselli).

In the Temptation, Botticelli showed his usual fine disregard of the subject for the sake of his art. The temple, a Renaissance Gothic church, on whose pinnacle Jesus wrestled with the Tempter, stands in the centre of the picture, the tiny figures of the disputants scarcely discernible on their lofty perch. Below, the scene is filled with the splendid altar ceremonials taking place in front of the church. Priest and acolyte officiate with due solemnity, and from either side worshippers press forward, oblivious of the scenes of temptation beyond them. In the Last Supper, by Roselli, the semicircular form of the table suggests the apse of a church, and the subject is the institution of the Eu-

charist (1 Cor. 11:23-26). Through openings between pillars in the rear, one can see the later scenes of the Agony in the Garden, the Betrayal, and the Crucifixion. The perfect symmetry of the composition and the rich accessories of the room — the tiled marble floor, the coffered ceiling, and the ornamental pilasters — make the panel remarkably decorative. But the heads are all commonplace and expressionless: there is not one well characterized among them.

The finest panels of the entire series are undoubtedly Ghirlandajo's Call of Peter and Andrew and Perugino's Charge to Peter. They mark the highest level of two great mural painters, well-ordered and dignified, with noble effects of spaciousness. In the "Call" (Matt. 4:18-22), the setting is a broad river flowing between steep banks, and losing itself in a fascinating distance. In the action itself there is no pretence of spontaneity — all is prearranged as for some official ceremony. The two disciples kneel side by side in front of the Saviour, to receive his blessing. They are middle-aged men with

Sistine Chapel] [By Ghirlandajo

THE CALL OF PETER AND ANDREW

long draperies, and their hair and beards carefully arranged beneath their halos, — not fishermen, but apostles. On either hand are rows of spectators, Ghirlandajo's Florentine friends, immensely interesting as character studies.

In the "Charge," Perugino has set a miniature St. Peter's dome in the rear, with a wide paved square in front, in which the scene is enacted. Again there are witnesses in considerable number, who balance the apostles in grouping. Peter, kneeling in the centre, receives a huge key from the Saviour, as the symbol of his authority (Matt. 16:19). The figures of Christ in these two pictures do not approach the highest ideals which other painters have given us. Yet Ghirlandajo's conception is not without gentle and gracious benignity. On the whole, the two panels, admirable as they are in artistic qualities, are too formal to touch the heart. They are best enjoyed, not as separate studies, but as harmonious parts of the entire plan.

The outline of subjects for the frieze of the Sistine Chapel will be recognized as a

somewhat new adaptation of the old method of connecting the Old and New Testaments. What the chapel now lacked for its completion along orthodox lines was the story of the Creation, the foundation, and the Last Judgment, as the culmination of the plan. These were the subjects awaiting Michelangelo, when, after the lapse of twenty-five years and the reign of three intervening Popes, Julius II. called the great sculptor to leave his beloved marbles and go on with this work. The task first assigned him was the illustration of the book of Genesis on the ceiling. How reluctantly the work was undertaken and how gloriously it was fulfilled is a matter of common knowledge. Michelangelo was by natural temperament a sculptor rather than a painter, and, after a youthful apprenticeship in painting, had thrown himself with ardour into the preferred art. At this time his ambitions were centred upon the tomb for Julius II., which he had hoped to make his life-work. It is no wonder it cost him a struggle to exchange the chisel for the brush. Even in painting he must needs work as a sculptor and

architect. His ceiling design cunningly simulates a great architectural framework ornamented with bas-relief medallions. Through the rectangular openings in this framework one sees the pictures like visions in the open heavens.

From great cloud spaces the Creator moves across the firmament like a rushing mighty wind. The cherubic host upbearing him are full of joy and awe. Lifting both arms in a magnificent gesture, he parts the light from darkness. Thence he passes to the creation of the sun and moon, and to the calling forth of life on the face of the earth. Now Adam is awakened from his prenatal sleep. The Almighty, still moving forward, points a commanding finger toward the man-to-be. In answer to the summons, the eyes are lifted to the Creator's with wistful yearning, the figure slowly rises to sitting posture, the hand is outstretched to receive the vital spark. Next, Eve is upraised from Adam's side, folding her hands in prayer and thanksgiving to her Creator. And thence the story leads to the Temptation and Fall, to the Deluge, and the In-

toxication of Noah. Repulsive as is the last incident as a subject of art, it serves to point the moral that, even after the cleansing of earth by the Deluge, there was still need of redemption.

According to Vasari, the painter began at the end of his story and worked backward, enlarging the scale of the figures as he proceeded. With the growth of the work, he seemed to gather power, till he reached a climax in the panels of Creation. Here he carried to the highest point of refinement the method first suggested in the sculptures of Orvieto, and transmitted to later art by Ghiberti. The theme which others could not illustrate without gross materialism, here finds final expression. With the same spirit of reverence which inspired the old poet of the Genesis, Michelangelo has given his work the grandeur and simplicity of an epic. Adam is the archetypal man conceived by the Creator in his own image, worthy to have dominion in the earth. The creative process is touched with spiritual suggestiveness: the currents of God's power move through the

Sistine Chapel] [By Michelangelo

ISAIAH

universe with swift and unerring precision to accomplish his will.

Where the ceiling arches to meet the side walls runs a superb cornice of sculptured niches (painted, that is, to resemble sculpture), in which are seated figures of prophets alternating with sibyls. Daniel is here, young and hopeful; Joel, sturdy and serious; old Zachariah, absorbed in his reading; Isaiah, listening eagerly to the heavenly message; Ezekiel, startled by strange visions, and Jeremiah, wrapped in profound melancholy. Here are vitally realized those strong and rugged personalities who feared nothing so much as disobedience to the heavenly vision, and who sounded the trumpet-call of righteousness through the ages.

That the sibyls share equal honours with them is not derogatory to their sacred calling. In this period of straining after occult meanings, it was believed that these pagan seers of bygone centuries had dimly discerned the coming of the Redeemer. Certain dark sayings of the Sibylline leaves had been construed as Messianic prophecies by mediæval theologians,

and were welcomed as fresh confirmation of the truth of Christianity. In antiquity-loving Siena the figures of the ten sibyls were wrought in the pavement of the cathedral aisles, leading the worshipper from portal to altar. Michelangelo has taken the five most important of this group, and has given them the same noble mien as the prophets. The Delphic, the Erythrean, and the Libyan are young and beautiful, with yearning eyes which see unspeakable things. The Persian and Cumæan are withered old crones, still conning the books of the future. All alike are grand and strong above the reach of mortals.

Below the frieze of prophets and sibyls, figures of the ancestors of Christ (Matt. 1: 1-17) are depicted in triangles and lunettes, which carry the decoration to the top of the windows. Thus the connection is perfectly made between the Creation story of the ceiling and the life of Christ and his Jewish prototype on the walls. We see here, successively linked together, the Creation and Fall, the Law and the Gospel. And to make the connection quadruply clear, the compositions at

the four corners (in the triangular spaces or pendentives) of the ceiling all tell stories of Israel's deliverance from the enemy, pointing toward a higher redemption: the lifting of the brazen serpent which saved Israel from extermination; David's victory over Goliath, which saved his people from the Philistines; the Crucifixion of Haman through Esther's intercession for her people; the beheading of the tyrant Holofernes by Judith (Apocrypha).

The making of the Sistine ceiling is one of the most familiar tales of the history of art. It is a true wonder-tale from the building of the scaffolding which the artist himself designed to the last stroke of the magic brush, which had brought into being a new race of titanic creatures. The work was executed in the space of four years (1508 - 1512), and practically single-handed.[1] Contemporary records have preserved for us a vivid picture of the progress of the great decoration. The artist, having quarrelled with his assistants, packed them off to Florence and locked him-

[1] This means that his assistants did only the mechanical parts, such as the pricking on of the designs, the lettering, etc.

self in alone with his work, lying all day on the staging under the ceiling, and breaking his fast only with a crust of bread. His solitude was interrupted by occasional visits from the Pope, who was impatient to see the thing done, and used to climb up on the scaffolding to watch the painter work. What a pair they were, these two terrible ones! It was a case of Greek meeting Greek, and, in the tug of war, each had to yield something to the other, not without some secret mutual admiration. Tradition has invented dialogues on the scaffolding, in which Julius imperatively demands, "When will you finish?" and the painter calmly replies, "When I can," at which the Pope impetuously breaks out: "Do you wish me to throw you from the scaffolding?" When the central space was done, the world was let in to see and wonder. Then another period of secrecy, and at last the great ceiling was complete. Descriptive phrases seem an impertinence in the presence of this work of genius. The common mortal feels himself very small and mean as he gazes at the vast swarm of dim figures far above his head.

One cannot call the decoration beautiful or charming: it is sublime.

The year in which Michelangelo began his work in the Sistine Chapel was the same in which Raphael made his first appearance in Rome to decorate the adjoining halls of the Vatican. The young stranger was among the throng admitted when the first section of the ceiling was uncovered to the public. It was the opportunity of a lifetime to one of his impressionable nature, precisely the stimulus he needed, and at precisely the right time. Thenceforth his work took on new vigour, as the older painter noted with some asperity. It was a little annoying to one whose own path had been so thorny to see the new favourite so easily win his way. A few years after the ceiling was completed, Raphael was commissioned to design a series of tapestries to hang on the walls, below the frieze. The pictures were to carry on the Bible story through the early missionary work of the apostles.

Raphael's original drawings were sent to the Netherlands, where the tapestries were woven, and finally made their way to London, where

they may now be seen in the South Kensington Museum. The set of hangings, shabby and faded after many vicissitudes, occupy a separate hall of the Vatican. We must try to figure for ourselves how they looked, when, fresh from the Flemish looms (1520), they hung in their destined place, adding one more element of beauty to the storied walls of the famous chapel. The first picture illustrates the Call of Peter and Andrew, or the Miraculous Draught of Fishes (Luke 5: 4-11). Here we have a real fishing scene. The men have been hard at work, with sleeves rolled up and garments girt about them. James and John, in the farther boat, still strain at the nets, while their father manages the helm. But Peter and Andrew, in the boat with their Master, express their awe and astonishment at the miracle. Next we see the apostles all gathered about the Saviour for his parting charge. Peter is again foremost, as the Good Shepherd enjoins upon him to feed his sheep.

The story moves on through the pages of the Book of Acts. Now we are with Peter and John healing the lame man at the Gate

Beautiful, now with Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, refusing the worship of the people, now with Paul on the Acropolis at Athens, making known the unknown God. The great apostle to the Gentiles is distinguished throughout by his splendid leonine head. Some of the scenes are quite violent, as when judgment falls upon the lying Ananias and the sorcerer Elymas. It is all genuine Bible story, like the pictures of the ceiling. Critics may talk of the mannerisms of the drawing, of the exaggeration in gesture and action, or of the monotonous conventionality of the figures, but such faults do not affect the popular verdict. These are illustrations which illustrate.

It was some years after the completion of the tapestries when Michelangelo returned to his work in the Sistine Chapel. Paul III. was now the reigning Pope, and he desired an altar painting of the Last Judgment as the crowning subject of the decoration. For this purpose, it was necessary of course to blot out Perugino's Moses in the Bulrushes and the Nativity. Michelangelo was now an old man,

full of years and disappointments. As a sculptor his fondest hopes had been frustrated in the abandonment of the tomb for Julius II. As a patriot he had been cut to the heart to see Florence succumb to tyranny. Much of the bitterness of his soul is expressed in the strained and violent conceptions of the Last Judgment. A life tragedy separates the restrained grandeur of the ceiling from the exaggerated mannerisms of the altar-piece. The great painting was the subject of much bickering, and was five years or more in process. It was shown to the public on Christmas Day of 1541.

The Sistine Chapel had now become a complete picture Bible. The work of so many hands, and, in Michelangelo's case, of such diverse moods, it naturally lacks artistic homogeneity. But in this it reflects the composite structure of the Book it illustrates. Time and incense and the smoke of altar candles have softened any harshness of colour transitions, and have given a sombre richness to the scheme. It is the most fully realized plan of Bible illustration in mural painting: from the begin-

ning of things to the end of things, and all the subjects between necessary to the plan of redemption as understood by the Church of the Middle Ages. Here mediæval theology finds its final expression in the purest and highest form, full of mysticism certainly and with great stress on ecclesiasticism, yet, with all this, resting more or less securely upon a Scripture basis.

It is rather surprising that so complete an expression of Biblical story should belong to a period when, to all intents and purposes, the faith it stood for was discredited. Perhaps the Sistine Chapel could never have been completed had it not been done by Michelangelo. Whom else could Julius II. and Paul III. have found to carry out the scheme in the spirit in which it was conceived? Michelangelo's life, measured by dates, was coincident with a period of awakening and unrest, but his religious temper was the product of the preceding age. In him were singularly united the pietistic spirit of his predecessors and the Renaissance passion for beauty.

By this time Raphael had become the busiest

man in Rome. His prodigies of achievement were possible only by means of a large body of assistants, in whose training his success was as marked as was Michelangelo's failure. Among his pupils, the most able were Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni (who are credited with the execution of the ceiling in the Hall of Heliodorus), Perino del Vaga, Raffaelino dal Colle, and Pellegrino da Modena. It was by the help of some or all of these that the master was able to carry out Leo X.'s commission for building and decorating the Loggia of the Vatican containing the celebrated "Bible."

The Loggia is an arcaded balcony overlooking a court of the Vatican palace, and decorated on its entire surface with the florid embellishments which were the fashion of the period. The "Bible" is painted on the vaulted roof. The ceiling of each bay, or arcade, contains four compositions, one on each side of the square dome, and there are in the thirteen arcades forty-eight Old Testament subjects and four from the life of Christ. Most of the old subjects are here: the story of

RAPHAEL'S LOGGIA

Creation, the lives of the patriarchs, the career of Moses, and principal episodes in the reigns of David and Solomon. Many of them are invested with freshness and novelty, and some are almost modern in spirit. The touch of Raphael, indirect as it is, is yet unmistakable in the general ordering of the compositions. Here and there we see it in characteristic purity, as in the Visit of the Angels to Abraham, in Lot fleeing with his Daughters from Sodom, in the Finding of Moses, and in the Worship of the Golden Calf. Elsewhere, too, many figures, coarsened as they are by the pupil's hand, yet show their origin, as the youth Isaac kneeling before the heavenly vision, and Jacob ardently advancing toward Rachel at the well.

The trail of Michelangelo is over the whole series, shown in the preference for nude and muscular figures, and in that general striving for dramatic vigour, which is also so noticeable in the tapestry designs. The noblest panels of the number are in the arcade of Creation, where we may learn how a great man may borrow boldly and directly from another, and yet make a grand and original design. The

Almighty, dividing light from darkness, strides through space with the gesture first conceived by Michelangelo, but newly vitalized by Raphael. The Creator, floating over the world to call forth the sun and the moon, and again to bring plant life into being, though reminiscent of the corresponding themes on the Sistine ceiling, should be credited to Raphael. Could the master have concerned himself as closely with the work of the other arcades, we might have had in fact, as well as in name, a "Raphael's Bible."

There were other important Bible illustrations which Raphael contributed to the treasures of the Vatican. In decorating the Hall of Heliodorus, the painter had occasion to introduce several Bible subjects in connection with his general theme of the deliverance of the Church from her enemies. In the four compositions of the ceiling, he borrowed frankly the typical Michelangelesque figure in his stalwart, muscular patriarchs, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, and the Jove-like Almighty, with electrified hair, moving swiftly through space with his cherubic host.

The painting which gives the room its name is the Chastisement of Heliodorus, covering an entire wall. The subject is not familiar to those who know their Bible only in the modern form, being drawn from the Apocryphal book of the Maccabees. The story runs that a certain king, coveting the treasure in the temple of Jerusalem, sent a messenger, Heliodorus, to seize it. Amid the lamentations of the people and the prayers of the priests, the robber and his company entered the sacred place. Suddenly appeared a terrible horseman, clad in golden armour, and riding a richly caparisoned steed, accompanied by two other strangers, "notable in strength, excellent in beauty, and comely in apparel." The mysterious cavalcade charged furiously upon the robbers, and completely routed them. A stately Renaissance church is the setting for Raphael's picture, with priests kneeling at the altar. In front, at the right, is a spirited group of the chastisers and chastised, the fairy steed in the midst pawing the prostrate Heliodorus. On the opposite side is a balancing group of spec-

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PACIFIC SCHOOL
OF RELIGION

tators, Raphael's papal patron, Julius II., conspicuous among them.

On another wall of the room, Raphael painted the story of Peter's Liberation from Prison (Acts 12: 4-9). Through the iron gratings of the dungeon window, we look directly into the cell where the apostle lies asleep on the floor, bound hand and foot by chains. The "angel of the Lord" has entered in a burst of glory, and touches the prisoner on the side. What happened then we may divine from the scenes on the steps outside the heavy walls. The apostle, with the absent stare of the sleep-walker, is led forth like a little child by his radiant companion. The guards, who have slept heavily till the prisoner is out of sight, start up in alarm, angrily chiding one another for neglect. The picture is good art and good story-telling, but it is still more: it is poetry and romance combined; it is an ideal example of Bible illustration.

The Sistine Chapel and Raphael's Loggia were the last of the long mural Bible series in which the Old Testament was connected

Hall of Heliodorus, Vatican] [By Raphael

THE LIBERATION OF PETER

(Right side)

with the New, excepting only Tintoretto's work in S. Rocco, which is reserved for a later chapter. As the fifteenth century passed into the sixteenth, the illustrated Bible serials were either devoted exclusively to the life of Christ (like Gaudenzio Ferrari's great screen in S. Maria delle Grazie, Varallo, and Pordenone's Passion series in the Cremona Cathedral), or treated only a few Christ subjects in connection with non-Biblical themes. To examine the works of the latter class would lead us far afield: to Perugia and the famous Hall of Exchange, where Perugino (1499 - 1500) painted his noble trio of Christ pictures connected with his scheme of Virtues; to Saronno and the Sanctuary, where Luini (1525) wove the story of Christ's infancy into the life of the Virgin; to the Borgia Apartments, Vatican, where Pinturicchio converted the scenes of Christ's life into a kind of fairy-tale in harmony with the romantic character of the whole suite, making the Borgia pope Alexander VI. witness of the most solemn Christian mysteries; and to other less important places beyond all reckoning. Turning from

these alluring by-paths, we shall get a new light on our theme by approaching it from a different point of view, considering Bible illustrations in detached subjects, as distinguished from those in serial schemes.

# VI

## THE BIBLE ILLUSTRATED IN DETACHED SUBJECTS IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

N the various Bible subjects singled out for detached pictures in the Italian Renaissance the Old Testament is much less prominent than in the serial illustrations. Here, indeed, the Pentateuch was forced to give way to the Golden Legend; the patriarchs and kings were replaced by the fathers and friars. It is not a little disconcerting to lovers of Bible literature to find St. Sebastian preferred to Daniel, St. George to David, St. Jerome to Moses. On the other hand, subjects from Christ's life are very numerous and beautiful, including some of the noblest works of the period. The apostles, too, hold their

own bravely in the great hierarchy of the saints.

There were many ingenious devices for pointing out the relation between the Law and the Gospel. Adam and Eve are always appearing in the most unexpected places, in the background, or on the wings or predella of altar-pieces, as a constant reminder of the origin of sin and the need of redemption. Moses, with the tables of the law, is also a conspicuous motive in the decorative accessories of altar-pieces. A large allegorical picture by Garofalo combines curiously the symbols of the old and new dispensations. In the centre is Christ on the Cross, and at right and left are female figures signifying the Church and the Synagogue. Beyond these, respectively, are Paul, preaching, and the ruined temple of Solomon, and below these, in turn, the Christian sacraments are set opposite the Jewish altar ceremonials. This work is in fresco, and originally decorated the refectory of S. Andrea, whence it was removed to the Ferrara gallery.

A grand trilogy of subjects was that

painted by Bartolommeo for a chapel in a Florentine church: the Risen Christ between Job and Isaiah. The prophet of the incarnation holds a tablet inscribed, "*Ecce Deus Salvator Meus*" (Behold God my Saviour), and points triumphantly to Christ. The patriarch holds a long scroll bearing the legend, "*Ipse Erit Salvator Meus*" (He will be my Saviour). In the central panel Christ enthroned, attended by the evangelists, points upward, whither he is ascending. Thus are prophecy and fulfilment linked together.

To make a list of the few Old Testament illustrations of any importance, we should begin with pictures of the Sacrifice of Abraham, the subject held so significant from the early days of Christian art. There is a well-known composition by Andrea del Sarto, which he is said to have painted three times (1529). The Dresden picture is the one most familiar to the ordinary tourist, the others being in the less frequented galleries of Lyons and Madrid. Vasari describes the work much more minutely and accurately than was his wont, and lavishes the highest praise upon it. It is indeed a dra-

matic and forcible representation of the scene, though the Cupid angel seems rather inadequate in so strenuous a moment. The kneeling Isaac is a beautiful figure, but his distress cannot but make the subject painful. By the Sienese Bazzi, too, is an admirably painted picture of the same subject, in the cathedral at Pisa, but it loses by comparison with Andrea del Sarto. Isaac is effeminate and cowering, and the whole picture seems theatrically staged.

David also figures in our list. There is a curious double picture of David and Goliath, painted on a slate panel by Daniele da Volterra (in the Louvre), the subject done on both sides in a similar composition. The Triumph of David is a spirited picture by Matteo Roselli (Pitti, Florence). The hero swings along with a rhythmic stride at the head of a procession of maidens bearing musical instruments. In his right hand he grasps the head of Goliath, and with the left holds his enemy's sword gunwise over his shoulder.

A very remarkable Old Testament picture is Raphael's Vision of Ezekiel. All the splen-

did but confused imagery of the prophet's words is crystallized in a simple and beautiful design. The "four living creatures" are united without grotesqueness, and surrounded by a brightness "as the colour of amber," which is "full of eyes," — the eyes of cherub faces. The picture is painted with an almost miniature-like finish on a small wooden panel (18 x 13 inches), and for what use it was intended by the Bolognese count who ordered it is not on record. One might venture a theory that it was to ornament a cabinet, just as Titian's Tribute Money was used as a door panel by the Duke of Ferrara. In this luxurious age, the foremost artists were employed for house and furniture decoration.

One of Vasari's most interesting tales concerns the nuptial furniture which a certain rich Florentine gentleman (Piero Francesco Borgherini) provided for his son. The *cassoni,* or chests, used for the trousseau, were made of ornamental panels illustrating the story of the Bible hero, Joseph. The painters were Andrea del Sarto, Pontormo, Granacci, and Ubertini (Il Bachiacca), and they took

as much pains with the work as if it were designed for the most dignified uses. Vasari considered Pontormo's pictures his best work. At the time of the siege of Florence (1529), an attempt was made by an enterprising picture dealer to secure this precious furniture to send to France. Borgherini had fled to Lucca, but his wife rose to the occasion. Pouring out her wrath upon the unlucky dealer, she bade him begone, declaring that as long as she lived no one should lay a finger on her possessions. Unfortunately, the spirited lady could not control the final destiny of her *cassoni,* which in some later period were broken up into their separate panels. Some of the pictures are lost, and the others are scattered through several European galleries. Few tourists who see them hanging framed upon the walls of the museums, would guess their romantic history. Those by Andrea del Sarto are in the Pitti, some by Pontormo in the Uffizi, while the National Gallery of London has others by Pontormo and two by Ubertini. In the Borghese Gallery, Rome, are five other illustrations of the Joseph story by Ubertini,

but whether belonging to the same set or another does not appear. Joseph was certainly a favourite subject for *cassoni* pictures, for this same Roman collection (the Borghese) has two panels of the same story from the school of Pinturicchio. Other Bible subjects used for the same purpose were the Triumph of David, and the stories of Queen Esther and the Queen of Sheba. Ubertini seems to have made a specialty of carefully finished decorative work of this kind, though it is not now possible for us to trace the history of all the small panels from his hand scattered in various galleries. What interests us here is that there are several Old Testament subjects among them besides the Joseph pictures mentioned. The finest is Moses striking the rock in the collection of the Prince Giovanelli, Venice. Though measuring only three and a half by two and a half feet, there are over forty figures in the composition, with many graceful groups, and a quantity of animals of every description.

Against this rather limited catalogue of Old Testament illustrations is set an almost count-

less number of Christ pictures. Yet great as is their sum total, the incidents illustrated are much fewer than might be supposed. We have already noticed in the serial illustrations of Christ's life a growing tendency toward condensation. The "Byzantine Manual" (p. 10) had dictated seventy-six scenes from the Life and Ministry, and thirty-five from the Passion. The old mosaicist of Monreale made sixty or seventy scenes of the entire subject. Giotto, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, had twenty-four, and the decorators of the Sistine Chapel, at the close of the fifteenth century, only eight. The omitted parts were from the ministry: the emphasis was upon the Infancy and Passion. It followed as a matter of course that the subjects selected for detached pictures would be in the same line, drawn from the opening and closing scenes of the Redeemer's life. The Venetians alone, among Renaissance Italians, interested themselves in the subjects which lie between. We are to consider their work by itself.

The Christ story opens with the coming of

Brera Gallery, Milan] [By Francia

THE ANNUNCIATION

the angel Gabriel, as the ambassador from the court of heaven, to the maiden Mary. He is a beautiful winged being, curled and garlanded, and bearing a lily sceptre. "Hail, Mary," he says, and raises his hand to bless her. Or, perhaps, overawed by her spotless purity, he sinks upon his knees before her. She raises her eyes timidly from her book — for of course she has been praying — and is startled by her strange guest. But, come what may, she is submissive to the divine will: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word." This is the Annunciation, as the Italians read it and as they loved to paint it.[1] In a field where every subject seems in turn the most interesting and popular, this is first favourite. There was no school of the Italian Renaissance — Florentine, Sienese, Umbrian, Lombard, Ferrarese, Venetian — where it was not many times painted. There is indeed scarcely a single

[1] It will be of interest to compare this, and all the following descriptions of the Renaissance Bible illustrations, with the mediæval compositions prescribed in the "Byzantine Guide to Painting" (Appendix III.), noting the changes brought about by time, in the original conceptions of these subjects.

painter who did not exercise his skill upon it. Often the subject is separated into two panels, as the wings or outer compartments of an altar-piece. In the single picture, there is very little variety in the treatment, except in the surroundings. In many cases the scene is in an arcaded loggia, and this in some of the Umbrian pictures is richly ornamented. Andrea del Sarto and Francia are almost alone in placing the scene in the open air.

The Nativity is the next subject, though this title is a misnomer. The Bethlehem manger is a shrine; the Child lies in the centre, an object of worship. Joseph and the young mother kneel on each side in adoration. Angels gather round "to keep their watch of wondering love." The shepherds approach, bringing the gift of a lamb. Only the ox and the ass, standing solemnly at their crib, remind us of the humble surroundings. The Umbrians were perhaps the first to give this form to the subject, and no one has painted it with more sentiment than Perugino. With him, the mother is the embodiment of rapt devotion, the angels are full of grace, and the

Albani Villa, Rome] [By Perugino

NATIVITY TRIPTYCH

(Crucifixion and Annunciation above)

landscape, stretching to the distant horizon, with feathery trees picked out here and there against the sky, is a dreamland of poetry. Of the Florentines, Lorenzo di Credi, Ghirlandajo, and the two Lippi were most fond of the subject in this version. The chubby baby, the pretty peasant mother, the grave Joseph, and the boyish angels are the identifying features of this group. The Bolognese Francia, the Lombard Luini, the Umbrian Pinturicchio, and the Ferrarese Gaudenzio have all painted the subject felicitously. It was not till the height of the Renaissance that art had skill enough to suggest the surrounding darkness of the Holy Night. Then the Christ-child becomes the source of illumination, shining in the darkness as the Light of the World. This was the subject which Correggio perfected (Dresden Gallery). The tiny babe on his straw bed sheds a brilliant white light on the face of the mother bending over him, flashes into the eyes of the entering shepherds, and gilds the clouds on which the visiting angels are descending. Without, all is darkness,

where Joseph busies himself with the care of the animals.

The visit of the wise men from the east has been spun out by art into a fairy romance. The guests are Oriental potentates, journeying from afar with a splendid retinue. They are three in number — for do they not bring three gifts? — and their names are Caspar, Melchior, and Baltasar, the Moor, representing respectively the three ages of man. They are gorgeous in embroidered robes and ermine, with jewelled crowns, and they offer their gifts in golden vessels of beautiful workmanship. Mary and the Babe receive them with the gracious air of a queen mother and crown prince. The old man Caspar, kneeling with bared head, is permitted to kiss the child's foot. The others wait their turn, while courtiers and servants stand respectfully aloof. The Florentine school of the fifteenth century was devoted to this subject, as a field for elaborate compositions and decorative effects. Benozzo Gozzoli carried it out on a magnificent scale in the frescoes of the Medici (Riccardi) Chapel. His contemporaries, lacking equal

opportunities, did their utmost to crowd all possible magnificence into single panels. Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, and Filippino Lippi vied with one another in many rich compositions. With the Florentines in the lead, its vogue extended more or less to every school. The masterpiece of Gentile da Fabriano is devoted to the subject, and other delightful Umbrian pictures are in the gallery at Perugia. Luini, Francia, Peruzzi, and Garofalo represent other schools in which the subject is found.

A less frequent subject of the Infancy is the Flight into Egypt. Tradition has supplemented the Gospel story with many pretty imaginary episodes of the journey to and from the land of exile, and these are introduced into the picture of the Flight as well as of the so-called "Repose." The Presentation in the Temple is another of the less common subjects, and was a favourite with the Lombard painter, Borgognone. His pictures make the incident a solemn and significant scene.

Next we pass to the Baptism, a subject often painted for Baptistery altar-pieces. Our Lord stands mid-stream, nude, save for a loin-cloth,

his hands crossed humbly on his breast, as John pours the water from a basin over his head. The heavenly dove descends in a circle of glory. Two or three angels stand or kneel on the bank, holding the Saviour's garments. The Baptist wears a skin garment, over which a mantle may be draped, and he carries a tall reed cross, referring to our Lord's metaphor of the "reed shaken by the wind." The Renaissance painters, as we know, were perplexed by no questions of historical accuracy. They followed the prescribed composition, concerned only with making the picture as beautiful and poetic as possible. Of the Florentine pictures, that by Verocchio (in the Florence Academy) is particularly noteworthy for the two lovely kneeling angels painted by Leonardo da Vinci. At the time the altar-piece was made, Leonardo was an apprentice in Verocchio's workshop, eager to try his hand at those tasks in which he afterward so far excelled his master. Perugino painted the subject several times. His leading notes are softness and sweetness rather than strength and virility. Francia, who was in some respects a kindred spirit, has

given the story a very beautiful version, full of religious feeling. There is one picture by him in the Dresden Gallery, and another at Hampton Court.

From the Baptism to the closing scenes of Christ's life the Transfiguration and the Raising of Lazarus are the only subjects of detached pictures in the Italian Renaissance — and these are infrequent (excepting always the Venetian school). These were the subjects assigned respectively to Raphael and Sebastian del Piombo for their rival compositions in the cathedral of Narbonne. The Cardinal de' Medici gave the order, and all Rome breathlessly awaited the outcome. Raphael was still at work upon the Transfiguration when death arrested his hand. This circumstance, no doubt, influenced in some measure the popular verdict, for the young Urbinate was a universal favourite and greatly mourned. The picture was extolled to the skies, and from that day to this has remained in Rome (in the Vatican Gallery). Though not by any means the greatest of Raphael's works, it is certainly a beautiful and inspiring picture. The Saviour,

freed from the bonds of earth, soars upward to commune with his Father. A glory of light emanates from his figure, and awakens his three sleeping companions. At the foot of the mountain the remaining disciples await his return to heal the demoniac child.

The Raising of Lazarus is also a noble picture. It is said that Michelangelo drew the design for his young friend, Sebastian del Piombo. The Saviour stands in the midst, pointing to the half-lifeless figure with the same gesture which the Almighty uses in creating Adam. Mary, the sister of Lazarus, kneels adoring at his feet, and the throng press about, curious to see the miracle.

If Italian art was over-romantic — not to say extravagant — in the scenes of the Infancy, it amply atoned by the reverent solemnity with which it rendered the last scenes of Christ's life. In serial illustration, every incident of the Passion is represented; for separate treatment the most important and pivotal were chosen: the Last Supper and the Washing of the Disciples' Feet; the Agony in the Garden, the Trial before Pilate, and the

Vatican Gallery, Rome] [By Raphael

THE TRANSFIGURATION

Ecce Homo; the Scourging; the Crowning with Thorns (only Titian); the Bearing of the Cross and the Crucifixion; the Descent from the Cross; the Deposition; and the Entombment.

The Last Supper was a subject very much used in Florence, and occasionally in other Italian cities, — Siena, Rome, Milan, and Venice, — for the decoration of the refectory or dining-hall of monasteries. There is much similarity in the Florentine pictures. The room opens upon a landscape, and the long table stands in the middle. Our Lord sits facing us in the centre, with Peter on his right and John on his left, leaning on his breast. The other disciples sit beyond, on the same side, save Judas, who, alone without a halo, is on the opposite, or near side, holding the bag in his avaricious grasp. A certain traditional type is fixed for each head in the group, and much of the interest of the picture lies in these fine portrait-like characterizations. The moment represented is the blessing of the bread, and the scene is rather a passive tableau than an actual event. The disciples, grouped

by twos, converse without animation, or calmly continue the meal. Such is the composition adopted with trifling variations by Andrea del Sarto, by Ghirlandajo (twice), by Andrea del Castagno, and by the unknown painter of the S. Onofrio picture. We should think their works impressive and dignified, judged by themselves. But Leonardo da Vinci's masterpiece in Milan makes every other rendering of the subject commonplace. Here the motive is the human outcry of loneliness, "One of you shall betray me." Our Lord's words thrill the whole company of disciples. Each face expresses intense emotion: astonishment, anger, horror, indignation, sorrow, curiosity, and, in one case, guilty fear. Though the original fresco in S. Maria delle Grazie is now well-nigh ruined, copies and engravings have made this one of the most familiar pictures in the world.

The subjects centering in the Crucifixion are probably the most conspicuous in Christian art. The scene of the Crucifixion, treated as an altar-piece, or detached picture, is usually devotional rather than historical in aim.

The theme is stripped of all those harrowing features which make it so painful in the large serial illustrations. A single cross is represented: nothing is to be seen of the soldiers, the Pharisees, the jeering crowd, or the two thieves. Only two or three friends are there; it may be the mother, the beloved disciple, and Mary Magdalene, to whom much had been forgiven. Even these may be absent, and the picture is then Christ on the Cross, rather than the Crucifixion. The face of the Crucified One is full of patient resignation rather than suffering.

Much more touching and beautiful are the subjects immediately following. The crowd has dispersed: only the few who loved him have remained to keep watch with their crucified master. Joseph of Arimathea, having begged the body of Pilate, has now come to remove it from the cross. Nicodemus, who has brought spices for embalming, is to help him in his task. The two have mounted ladders, and between them gently lower their burden into the arms of two disciples standing below. St. John is one of these, young and

boyishly beautiful. Mary Magdalene kneels to kiss a nail-pierced foot. All are very sorrowful, yet their grief is restrained in a quiet resignation to the divine will. This is the Descent from the Cross, as Fra Angelico painted it in the beautiful altar-piece of the Florence Academy, one of his best works. The same incident is the subject of Daniele da Volterra's masterpiece in the church of the Trinità de' Monti, Rome.

A moment later, the body is laid tenderly on the ground, to be prepared for burial. The task proceeds slowly, for human grief and tenderness must have their way. The mother embraces her son for the last time, gazing into his face with inexpressible tenderness. Mary Magdalene and John are chief of the mourners. This is the subject variously called the Deposition, the Lamentation, or the Pietà. There are two pictures, almost perfect of their kind, by Bartolommeo and Perugino. They are exquisite in feeling, grandly composed, and admirably painted. As they now hang in the same gallery (the Pitti, Florence), they perpetually challenge comparison, not only with

Pitti Gallery, Florence] [By Bartolommeo

THE PIETÀ

each other, but with a third fine work in the same collection by Andrea del Sarto. Bartolommeo's composition is the simplest, having only the three figures besides Christ. The others add other sorrowing women, besides Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. Botticelli varied the motive a little by showing the mother fainting with grief while still holding the body across her lap. His picture, in the Munich gallery, is almost too sad to be endurable. Yet there is nothing violent or exaggerated in action or expression. The whole feeling is dignified and refined as that in Signorelli's picture of the same subject is commonplace and ordinary (Cortona Cathedral). Three pictures by Francia are in a more idealized manner. In the exquisite Pietà of the National Gallery, the mother is alone with her son, and angels kneel at the head and feet of the body. The Parma picture, set in a landscape, has the usual figures: Joseph of Arimathea, John, and two women. This, too, is a beautiful work, but the Turin picture is less successful.

The Entombment ends the tragic story.

The body is now carried by two bearers to the rock-hewn tomb, while a few still linger till the last. This was the subject of one of Raphael's most careful academic studies, while other pictures by Taddeo Gaddi and Mantegna are notable.

The Resurrection is the one subject in the life of Christ which should never have been painted. There were no witnesses of the sacred mystery, none to describe the manner in which Jesus burst the bonds of death. Yet the Renaissance painters stopped short of nothing. Mantegna, Ghirlandajo, Perugino, and Bazzi were among the bold spirits who essayed the subject with indifferent results. Jesus floats or soars in mid-air, bearing in one hand a tall banner inscribed with the sign of the cross. The guards around the tomb start up in alarm. The Ascension has been painted in a similar manner by some of the same painters, — Mantegna and Perugino. The late Sienese painter, Pacchiarotto, painted it twice, with every possible fault of exaggerated mannerism. Though less objectionable than the Resurrection, this subject also is rather unsat-

isfactory in art. The best pictures happen to be in the serial illustrations rather than in these detached pictures.

Much to be preferred as art subjects are the several scenes of Christ's reappearance. One regrets that there are so few such pictures. The Supper at Emmaus belongs almost exclusively to the Venetians, and Christ's appearance to Thomas (called the Unbelief of Thomas) is rather a rare subject. Very frequent, however, and most appropriately so, is the touching scene in the garden, where Mary Magdalene, first mistaking him for the gardener, falls at the feet of the Master. Many of the Florentines painted this, Lorenzo di Credi and Filippino Lippi making it a companion subject of Christ and the Samaritan Woman. Correggio's fine work in the Madrid gallery is more elevated in feeling than is usual with this painter. The Master is not saying, "Touch me not," the common motive which has given the Latin name, "Noli me tangere," to the subject. Rather he seems to be saying, as he points upward, "I ascend unto my Father." Mary replies by a wondering ges-

ture of assent, as she raises her beautiful face to his. This is a fitting ending to the story of Christ's life, as he pauses a moment, returning to his heavenly kingdom, to give a parting message of good cheer to his disciples. The subject is as it were an earnest of his promise: "Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world."

# VII

## THE BIBLE AMONG THE VENETIAN PAINTERS

THE religious art-development of Venice was as unlike that of other Italian cities as was her political history. While other towns were occupied with quarrels among themselves, the Venetians were off at the Crusades, carrying their commerce and their conquests far across the seas. From contact with the East, their artistic tastes became saturated with Oriental qualities: the love of bright colour, of sparkling surfaces, and rich materials. While the Florentine art-sense was chiefly pictorial, running to the development of form, theirs was essentially decorative, and concerned itself most with colour. Hence, in the centuries when the Florentines were slowly

developing their school of painting, the Venetians were making their city one splendid scheme of decoration. Their palace fronts, with delicately fretted windows and balconies, were overlaid with coloured marbles; their cathedral was adorned with the plundered treasures of the East, and glittered with mosaics. The whole appearance of the city, with the blue waterways winding among the parti-coloured buildings, was like a colossal mosaic. Satisfying their love of colour in this way, such a people were slow to bring forth painters. Giotto had no Venetian contemporary, and there was no art period in this school to correspond to the Florentine era of religious mural painting.

When at last the Venetians awoke to the possibilities of painting, they pursued it as an art of colour, an art for art's sake, rather than for the sake of religion. Unhampered by the art traditions of the Middle Ages, they consulted chiefly their own tastes, and their tastes did not incline toward theology for the subjects of mural decoration. The glorious history of Venice and their own patron saints pre-

occupied them far more than the Bible. It was chiefly in their great altar-pieces that they found occasion for Bible illustrations, and here, it must be confessed, the subjects were chosen, not primarily for their religious significance, but for their artistic possibilities.

Among Venetian traits, one which can scarcely be overstated was the love of natural scenery: for shapely trees with dense foliage; for level meadows with nibbling sheep; for steep rocks with craggy sides draped in verdure; for outlines of hill ranges against the horizon. Any subject, requiring, or in any way admitting, this kind of environment, was welcomed. This taste may possibly be a reason for the various pictures of the Fall of Manna one encounters in the Venetian churches by Tintoretto, Veronese, and others. Elsewhere the subject is rather rare. It may also account for scattering examples of outdoor Old Testament subjects, such as Bonifazio's Joseph drawn from the Well, Veronese's Flight of Lot, Tintoretto's Golden Calf, and that most charming picture by Palma, Jacob and Rachel. Palma's favourite subject, it will be

remembered, was the Santa Conversazione, and he handled the patriarchal romance in a similar vein. In a pasture-land full of flocks and herds, the lovers meet and pledge their troth by a kiss: two peasants, handsome and wholesome as simple lives can make them; the maiden, with the buxom figure of the Saint Barbara model, as if well nourished by her own dairy products, tidy and serious withal; the youth more ardent, as becomes his part, throwing his staff and bundle on the ground.

The pure love of nature finds, however, its chief exponent in the Bassano family, whose head, Jacopo, was almost modern in his feeling for landscape. With love of natural scenery, Jacopo united a love of the rustic life which belongs to it: of peasants and cattle as well as of pasture-land. He was almost Dutch in his leaning toward homely realism, a true forerunner of modern genre painting. To such a man the Old Testament story was a mine of subjects which he would doubtless have worked more fully had his patrons shared his tastes. There is an interesting group of pictures by the several members of the Bassano

family, illustrating the patriarchal life. Abraham and his family, with their flocks and animals, wending their way to Canaan, and Jacob on his Journey, are both treated more than once; while Jacob and Esau, Ruth and Boaz, are others in the same line. For a study of animal life, Noah entering the Ark served them well, and Moses at the Rock afforded a good genre study in the open air. There are also pictures of the Angel appearing to the Shepherds, a subject almost never treated in other Italian schools, except as an episode in the background of the Nativity.

More obvious than the love of natural scenery was the Venetian love of pomp and display. The floating pageants on the Grand Canal, the tournaments and masques in the great piazza, the ceremonials of the Ducal Palace, and the functions of San Marco were magnificent beyond description, unsurpassed even in this luxurious age among the proudest courts of Europe. It was this showy side of life, rather than the purely pastoral, which appealed to the majority of Venetian painters, and found expression in vast canvases

peopled with princely men and beautiful women, moving through the pillared spaces of stately palaces. These tastes did not contradict or exclude the love of nature. Rather the Venetians leaned toward those scenes of festivity which took place in the open air, thus gratifying both tastes simultaneously. If, by any chance, some Bible subject could be made to work both ways, as a display of luxury and a vision of nature, they were delighted with the coincidence. It was a great hit, for instance, when some painter, perhaps Bonifazio, discovered that the finding of Moses in the bulrushes could be converted into a *fête champêtre:* a royal party is picnicking under the trees by the riverside, when some one discovers the little castaway. There are at least four pictures of this subject by Bonifazio, in as many different galleries, and they reflect perfectly the brilliant epoch in which they were painted. It is the holiday side of Venice, as Beatrice and Isabella d'Este saw it on their famous visits. The princess, splendid in trailing robes and jewelled diadem, the centre of an admiring

group, receives the child graciously from her maidens as a novel feature of the entertainment. The musicians bend over their violins, the pages prepare the feast, the dwarfs romp with the dogs, maids of honour flirt with their lovers, and blue sky and smiling landscape add their quota to the perfect joyousness of the day.

Whether or not Bonifazio was the originator of this version of the Moses story, it quickly became Venetian property. Tintoretto took it up in at least one instance (a picture in Madrid), and Veronese's version was so popular that it was repeated many times, either by his own hand or by that of a copyist. With Veronese the princess wears a charming brocade, with pointed bodice, like a Watteau lady, and her beauty is of a bolder type, less aristocratic than the exquisite being of Bonifazio's creation. She is in fact the same splendid creature we see elsewhere as the Madonna, or as Venice Enthroned, and we make her acquaintance again as Queen Esther or the Queen of Sheba.

Naturally any Biblical scenes of court life

were capital for the Venetian painter. Esther's career had special attractions. There is a ceiling by Veronese, in the church of S. Sebastian, telling her story in three compartments, the Journey to Ahasuerus, the Coronation, and the Triumph of Mordecai. Esther before Ahasuerus was one of Tintoretto's most admirable subjects, twice painted. The king solicitously stepping down from his throne, the beautiful young queen swooning between her maidens, the crowd of courtiers peering curiously, make up the *dramatis personæ* of the brilliant scene.

Solomon in all his glory receiving the Queen of Sheba outshines even Ahasuerus and Esther. The scene is of course always laid in Venice, in a splendid pillared portico opening upon a terraced garden, or, perhaps, as with Bonifazio, upon the Grand Canal, with St. Mark's campanile over the way. The costumes reproduce the fashions of the painters' own day. The king is surrounded by his councillors in the guise of Venetian Senators. The queen, whether eagerly putting her questions, as Tintoretto represents her, or

Turin Gallery]

[By Veronese

THE QUEEN OF SHEBA BEFORE SOLOMON

proudly proffering her gifts, as in Bonifazio's composition, or even sinking abashed upon her knees, as in Veronese's great picture, is the typical Venetian beauty, of the Juno caste, with magnificently developed physique, and features of large, majestic mould.

Veronese's picture in the Turin gallery has completely overshadowed all others of the subject, and is known to readers of Ruskin throughout the world. All the pride and joy of life in the glorious city are here: Solomon, the young king, high on a pedestalled throne, with his councillors on the steps, the stately portico filled with courtiers, attendants laying caskets of treasure on the tesselated pavement, a little dog barking in the midst, and the queen kneeling between her ladies, her sumptuous robes in billows about her, her hair wreathed with pearls, surprised even in her haughty beauty by the quiet dignity of the boy sovereign.

Another subject from the life of the great king, adopted by the Venetians, was the Judgment of Solomon, not from any theological connection with the Last Judgment (as indi-

cated in the "Biblia Pauperum"),[1] but from pure love of the royal appurtenances of the scene. Giorgione painted it twice, once setting the story in the open air against one of his inimitable landscapes. There is plenty of landscape, too, in Bonifazio's picture of the same subject, where the scene is enacted in the open portico of a palace. The two mothers, one angry, the other weeping, the dead babe lying at the foot of the throne, the brutal executioner seizing the living child with drawn sword, the soldiers and courtiers looking on indifferently, and the boyish king, like a fair young god, towering serenely over all, these are the usual elements in a singularly dramatic subject.

Matching in popularity these stories of Old Testament royalty were the feast scenes from the life of Christ. Every subject of eating and drinking which could be so construed was treated as an elaborate banquet. One might suppose that the chief occupation of Jesus was dining out: "Behold a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber." The village wed-

[1] See Appendix II., section XXXVII.

ding at Cana (John 2: 1-11) takes place in the hall or on the terrace of a palace: the table is laid with costly vessels; the guests are attired in court costumes; pages move to and fro, serving the wine; an orchestra renders music; all is gaiety. Jesus and his mother, accompanied by the disciples, sit in the midst, somewhat overshadowed by the brilliant company. Tintoretto's picture in the Church of the Salute, Venice, is a famous example of its class, but Veronese, who painted the subject three times, carried it to its climax (1563) in the great painting of the Louvre. The huge canvas is twenty by thirty feet in dimensions, and contains some one hundred and fifty figures. The bridal party are portraits of the crowned heads of Europe: Francis I. and Eleanor of France, the Emperor Charles V., Queen Mary of England, and even the Sultan of Turkey, Solyman I. The musicians are painters: Titian, Tintoretto, Jacopo Bassano, and Veronese himself. The splendid colonnade of pillars, the brilliant costumes, the animation and variety in the groups, the rich harmonies of colour, make a decorative en-

semble never surpassed in painting. The splendid imagination of the Venetian could go no further.

The Feast in the Pharisee's House (Luke 7: 36-50) was also painted three times by Veronese in grand scenic compositions. Again the Louvre has the largest picture of the number, and in this case it is also the noblest in sentiment. The tables are set in a long, pillared hall, and the guests are occupied among themselves. The woman who was a sinner has entered, and kneels at Christ's feet, but, except the host, few pay any heed.

Moretto of Brescia, though not strictly speaking of the Venetian school, has often been pointed out as a forerunner of Veronese in sumptuousness of style. This is especially noticeable in his picture of the Feast of the Pharisee, set in the portico of a Venetian palace, from which a *pergola* leads to the walled garden beyond. The host is alone with his guest at table, attended by several servants. The woman has prostrated herself at the Master's feet, pressing her face against his ankle with an expression of pure devotion. The

Church of the Pietà, Venice] [By Moretto

CHRIST IN THE HOUSE OF THE PHARISEE

(Central group)

Saviour's face is full of sorrowful pity as he seems to plead her cause with the Pharisee.

The Supper at Emmaus (Luke 24: 29-31) is another subject peculiar to the Venetians and to Veronese. As it was in blessing and breaking the bread that the risen Lord made himself known, the scene has the sacramental significance of the Last Supper. This fact precludes the element of festivity, and makes the picture much more religious in feeling than the Marriage of Cana, or the Feast of the Pharisee. Christ and the two pilgrims are the only participants of the meal, but the room is thronged with attendants and spectators. Veronese and his entire family are there, including some delightful children with their pet dogs. Jacopo Bassano, Marco Marziale, Carpaccio, and Titian are others who have illustrated the story. In Titian's picture (Louvre), Christ's hosts are Charles V. and Cardinal Ximenes, strange companions for a wearisome journey!

The Last Supper is obviously too serious a subject to be popular in Venice. Where the other feast scenes could do duty for it, sym-

bolically speaking, this pleasure-loving city greatly preferred them. A single Venetian can be said to have really cared for the subject, and this was Tintoretto, who painted it at least five times. Tintoretto absolutely reversed all the popular standards for such subjects. For elegance and display, he preferred extreme homeliness; for pomp and ceremonial, the liveliest action. He discarded altogether the staid and conventional type of apostles, and painted genuine peasants, rough and uncouth, if not actually coarse. The Passover feast was no elaborate banquet among noblemen, but a noisy supper in a common inn.

But Tintoretto's purpose was not to vulgarize a sacred subject; it was rather to show the poetry of common things. He was like Rembrandt in this, and he anticipated also some of the Dutch master's discoveries in the mystic power of light. The great Last Supper of S. Giorgio Maggiore (companion picture of the Fall of Manna) is the best expression of this method. The room does not open upon a landscape in the usual or Florentine way. It is completely shut in, and lighted by

a swinging lamp, whose smoky flame throws into sharp relief all the details of the scene. The wreaths of smoke form themselves into dim figures of angels floating across the room. A halo of glory surrounds the head of Christ and of every disciple except the renegade Judas. The spell of the supernatural is over all.

There are several subjects from the life and ministry of Jesus which the Venetians were the only Renaissance Italians to illustrate: the plea of the Canaanite woman for her daughter (Palma); the request of the mother of James and John, the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (these two by Bonifazio Veronese); the Call of James and John (Basaiti); Christ and the Adulteress (Titian and Tintoretto); the request of the Centurion in behalf of his servant; the visit to the house of Jairus; the miracle at the Pool of Bethesda (these three by Veronese); the answer to Philip's demand, "Show us the Father" (Bonifazio II.); and the discussion of the tribute-money (Titian). It is these pictures and the feast scenes which come to mind first when we think of Venetian

Christ art. The usual scenes of the Infancy — the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of Kings — had also a measure of popularity, but are less conspicuous than in Florentine art. The Baptism, the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, are represented in some particularly fine pictures. The Passion subjects — Titian's work excepted — are in the minority.

The Venetian type of Christ is in general the most beautiful which art has given us. It is based of course upon the traditional face — or "likeness" — inherited from the catacombs, but character and expression are Venetian. It is a happy, successful face, not sorrowful and dejected, as many have painted it, and not too humble. There is more suavity and dignity in the countenance, more force and intellectuality than in the Florentine Christ. This is best seen in Titian's Christ of the Tribute-Money, who reads the cunning face of the Pharisee with keen insight.

As a Bible illustrator, Titian is not on the whole seen in his best and most characteristic qualities. His only Old Testament pictures

Dresden Gallery] [By Titian

THE TRIBUTE MONEY

are the coarse and exaggerated compositions on the ceiling of the Church of the Salute. His subjects from the life of Christ, with the important exceptions alluded to, are from the Passion: the Ecce Homo, the Mocking, Christ Bearing the Cross, and the very beautiful Entombment of the Louvre. It is a little strange that the painter, whom we look upon as the representative of his school, devoted himself to these subjects so foreign to Venetian feeling. Everything considered, the greatest Bible illustrator of Venice was Tintoretto. As we have already seen, he tried his hand at all the popular Venetian Bible subjects, and did his work like nobody else. But it was in the storied walls of S. Rocco that the painter had the opportunity of his life. The building is not a popular resort: neither Ruskin's minute description of the pictures, nor Taine's psychological analysis of the painter himself, has made it the place of pilgrimage it deserves to be. The rooms are, to begin with, the most badly lighted in the world. No other painter would have attempted to work here; but Tintoretto asked only for space to pour out the

pent-up energies of his exhaustless imagination. The difficulty of seeing the pictures properly increases the sombre impression of the faded and sunken colours; the effect of the tumultuous throng of figures on the walls is not a little eerie. One is overwhelmed with the sense of the artist's creative frenzy; the experience is too strenuous to be altogether agreeable. Yet, when one turns from the violent attitudinizing and feats of foreshortening to more quiet passages, cool landscapes, delicate effects of transparent clouds, and beautiful faces reveal the more attractive side of the protean painter.

Though the building is dedicated to St. Roch, the hero himself does not figure largely in the decorations, but is rightly subordinated to his divine master. The motive is a pictured life of Christ. The walls of the lower hall illustrate the Infancy, the walls of the upper hall carry forward the life story, and the walls of the inner room (or Albergo) of the second floor bring it to a climax in the Passion and Crucifixion. On the ceiling of the upper hall is a series of Old Testament pictures which

bring the Saviour's life into relation with the old dispensation. The ceiling space is divided into three rows of pictures of differing sizes and shapes, running the length of the room. The subjects in the outer row seem to correspond symbolically to the subjects on the side walls they adjoin: Ezekiel's Vision is over the Resurrection; Elijah fed by the Angel, over the Last Supper; Elijah feeding the People, over the Miracle of Loaves; and Jacob's Dream, over the Ascension.[1] The seven subjects in the central row (alternate ovals and rectangles) are all significant of the Redemption, from the Fall to the Passover Feast, with the Brazen Serpent as the great central theme, the type of the Crucified Saviour.

As Tintoretto was the avowed imitator of Michelangelo, one must inevitably compare the School of S. Rocco with the Sistine Chapel. The dramatic note is common to both, but Tintoretto follows Michelangelo in his faults and exaggerations rather than in his excellences. He cannot approach the Floren-

[1] It will be seen that these correspondences are not exactly like those of the "Biblia Pauperum," but are in the same spirit.

tine master in sublimity. He does not indeed attempt the lofty themes of the Creation, but confines himself to the drama of human life. Here his inventiveness never fails. When Moses strikes the rock, the water does not flow down the sides in the well-regulated manner of a mountain brook, but spouts forth with tremendous force, describing a wide arc which encircles the prophet's head like a rainbow. The angel of the Annunciation comes not alone, but with a cloud of baby angels in his train, swooping, birdlike, into the Virgin's bedchamber. The Satan of our Lord's temptation is "transformed into an angel of light," exultingly offering stones to the famished Saviour. Christ before Pilate, the Ecce Homo, and the Procession to Calvary are all strikingly original in treatment, leading at last to the Crucifixion, which is beyond all comparison the most remarkable and impressive picture of the subject ever painted. There are three distinct motives in the composition, each in turn the centre of many groups. At the right the unrepentant thief's cross lies flat upon the ground, and the victim

S. Rocco, Venice] [By Tintoretto

MOSES STRIKING THE ROCK

is stretching himself in position to be lashed upon it. The other thief has reached a later stage of torture, being already fastened to his cross, which is now pulled into an upright position by ropes. By these two groups we are made to see the painful process through which the divine sufferer has passed. His cross is now in place, and the Saviour's head is thrown into relief against a great disc of light. Towering above the scene, the central figure brings into unity the great throng about him.

The decorations of S. Rocco are proof positive that Venice, with all her devotion to the pomps and vanities, could not altogether escape theology. Here is a systematic scheme of Christian dogma pictorially expressed, not so completely as in the Sistine Chapel, but in the same general way. The plan of redemption is outlined from the Fall of Man to the Ascension of the Saviour, and the Old and New Testaments are brought together in the significant parallels from the "Biblia Pauperum." In the Sistine Chapel the decorations were the natural flowering of many centuries

of Florentine Bible illustration. The pictorial plan of S. Rocco, on the other hand, stands alone in its own school, preceded by no mural scheme which in any sense prepared the way for it, but apparently borrowed from the Florentines. Yet no Venetian, least of all Tintoretto, could borrow anything without translating it freely into his own delightful language. The School of S. Rocco is typical of Venice in daring and originality, in the frank enjoyment of life and the portrayal of beautiful women. In mingled homeliness and poetry, in mystic play of light and shadow, it is Tintoretto's own.

# VIII

## THE BIBLE IN THE RENAISSANCE ART OF GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS

FROM the study of Bible illustration in Italy we cross the Alps and find ourselves in another world. We seem to have journeyed from the land of poetry to the land of prose. Here we must learn to exchange beauty for seriousness, fancy for fact, idealism for a minute realism. For the flowing line of the Florentines and the glowing colour of the Venetians, we have the angular drawing of the Germans and the cold palette of the Flemings. For the Lippi and Bellini, we have the Van Eycks and Roger van der Weyden. For Michelangelo and Raphael, Albert Dürer and Holbein. Yet for all this, the art of northern countries was not lacking in charm. The dec-

orative element was particularly strong in it, and was exemplified in magnificent costumes and jewels and richly ornamented furniture and accessories.

Notwithstanding every possible difference in ideals and methods, the Renaissance art of northern and southern Europe dealt with the same religious material. The traditions of the Middle Ages were a common legacy which affected substantially all the later art. The familiar parallels between the Old and New Testaments reappear in many of the early Flemish altar-pieces. Such pictures were often elaborately constructed in many parts: a central compartment with wings, or shutters, painted on both sides, and each part subdivided into several panels. So the famous Ghent altar-piece by the Van Eycks contained originally over twenty subjects, now unhappily scattered in different galleries. Closed, it showed the Annunciation, with prophets, sibyls, St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, and the donors. Within, the whole scope of sacred history is indicated from Adam and Eve in the upper corners to the

Berlin Gallery] [By Van Eyck

THE ANNUNCIATION

(Outer shutter of Ghent altar-piece)

Adoration of the Lamb (Rev. 14) in the centre. This magnificent work is unquestionably the finest product of the period, summing up all that is most beautiful and characteristic in the Flemish art. The Crucifixion triptych by Gerard van Meire, another Ghent picture, and Dierick Bouts's Last Supper, painted for St. Peter's, Louvain (1467), are interesting examples of connecting Old Testament types with subjects of our Lord's Passion.

The most influential northern painter of the middle fifteenth century, following close upon the Van Eycks, was Roger van der Weyden. He was very prolific in altar-pieces, illustrating the same class of subjects affected by the Florentines. A beautiful triptych in the Berlin gallery illustrates three scenes from the life of St. John Baptist: the Birth, the Baptism of Christ, the Decollation. One of his largest and finest works is the Adoration of the Kings, with wings representing the Annunciation and the Presentation in the Temple. This picture is now in the Munich gallery, but it is supposed to have been painted for a church in Cologne. Cologne, let us remember, is the

final resting-place of the bones of the three wise men from the East. There is an elaborated tradition explaining how these precious remains were carried first to Constantinople, thence to Milan, and finally to the city on the Rhine, where they are enshrined in the great cathedral. This is why the old dombild, or altar-piece, in the cathedral is devoted to the Adoration of the Kings, and this is why the subject was dear to all northern artists, even dearer, if possible, than to the Florentines. It may seem that magnificence has reached a superlative degree in the Italian pictures, but the Flemings and Germans outdistanced them at times. They knew how to make even finer finery and more ornamental ornaments. Van der Weyden's picture is a splendid example, uniting a serious devotional spirit with delightful decorative quality.

One could go on indefinitely citing instances of these many-panelled altar-pieces, which were peculiarly characteristic of northern art. Not to be too tedious, let one more picture close the list, the extraordinary Passion triptych by Hans Memling (Turin Gallery), of

Munich Gallery] [By Roger Van der Weyden

THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS

which unhappily the wings are missing. The central panel presents a panoramic view of the events of our Lord's last week, from the Entry into Jerusalem (Palm Sunday) through the Walk to Emmaus (Easter). The setting is a huge conglomeration of architecture, towers, and porticoes, separated by courtyards and connected by high walls of masonry pierced here and there by arched gateways. This framework serves to isolate the successive groups which carry on the story. We start from the upper left-hand corner, tracing the thread of our story in and out of courtyard and tower, till we follow the procession up the hill on the right side to the three crosses of Calvary. Still there is room in the upper corner to give the details of the Easter story, even to the three tiny figures on the horizon pursuing the road to Emmaus.

A form of painting in which the Flemings particularly excelled was miniature work. In this their love of detail and delicate workmanship found its proper field. A group of miniaturists centring about Memling were responsible for one of the most beautiful illu-

minated manuscripts ever produced. This is the celebrated Grimani Breviary, so called from having once belonged to a Venetian family of that name, who bequeathed it (1523) to the Library of St. Mark's, Venice. Here, if the tourist is fortunate enough to go on the right day of the week, and at the right hour of the day, he may see the storied pages, as they are slowly turned for his inspection by the official in charge. Over one-fourth of the miniatures illustrate Old Testament stories, coupled with incidents from the infancy and passion of Christ.

A separate series of five is devoted to the life of David, with the Temptation and Fall as the introductory subject. The hero is presented in a variety of aspects. He is most charming when he brings into the city square the head of Goliath, balanced on the tip of his sword. Boyishly elated with his success, he tries not to look too proud, as the procession of maidens meets him with wreaths of laurel. He is chubby and rather babyish when he kneels to be anointed by Samuel under the trees in front of the prophet's thatched hut.

He is a rather pathetic gnome-like figure as he stands, harp in hand, awaiting his election; and at his coronation he receives his crown rather awkwardly. As a soldier, he is like a Russian officer, in tall boots and short tunic, with big ermine collar and cuffs. As a king, he is magnificent, kneeling in trailing robes and splendid jewels before the Messianic vision in the sky.

The Flemish hall-mark is on every page. The women have attenuated figures, with limp, clinging drapery lying in folds on the ground. Their oval faces, meekly sanctimonious and exceeding sweet, are quaintly framed in stiff caps. The men have hooked noses and fierce countenances. There is a certain ogreish head reappearing many times, as Goliath, as Samson, and as various saints and apostles. For setting, we have fanciful variations upon the typical Flemish city, with paved squares, surrounded by steep-roofed houses, with overhanging upper stories. The architectural features always include plenty of towers, but none of the triumphal arches and other classical bits affected by the Italians. One picture

might almost have been drawn direct from the life, — a paved square, with a soldier seated by the fountain devouring a sausage, a comrade in the rear bargaining with the sausage vender for her wares. For interiors we have the soaring arches of the Gothic cathedral, or the heavily beamed rooms of the substantial Flemish house.

Not the least of the Breviary's attractions is the richly ornamented borders. They show none of the exuberant Italian designs, with all sorts of arabesques and curlicues, but are a faithful record of the small beauties of nature. Violets and strawberries, cornflowers and columbines, snails and butterflies, are sprinkled over the ground in rich profusion. Another decorative motive is the Gothic pinnacle, with fretted windows, like the ciborium of Adam Krafft.

At opposite poles to miniature painting is mural decoration, and this among Flemings and Germans was too insignificant to count anything in the history of the Renaissance. There is nothing we miss more in the countries north of the Alps than the splendid frescoed

walls, which are the glory of church and monastery in Italy. Here we look in vain for such mural picture-books as the Campo Santo of Pisa, the Sistine Chapel, and the School of S. Rocco. The Gothic architecture practically excluded this form of art, and with it the chief opportunity for carrying out in painting a complete plan of Bible illustration. Even the stained windows, which supply the colour note in the Gothic cathedral, did not fill this place. The nearest substitute was the tapestries, in which the Flemings led the world. In these splendid hangings were cunningly woven on a mammoth scale, in many colours, pictures designed by the best artists of the time, such as the Van Eycks and Roger van der Weyden, and later Mabuse, Michael Coxcie, and Bernard van Orley. Bruges and Arras and Brussels were the centres of the tapestry industry which furnished all the princes of Europe with their textiles. In some cases these hangings were designed especially for churches, as at Angers, where the nave and choir were ornamented with a series of pieces illustrating the Apocalypse. More com-

monly, however, they were for the decoration of palaces, and a special use was made of them to hang in streets and public squares on gala occasions: a pageant, a coronation, or a royal visit. For such purposes the subjects were naturally of a joyous character, drawn from the romances of chivalry, or from contemporary history. Some of the most brilliant themes were supplied by the Old Testament stories of love and adventure in kings' palaces, like Esther and Ahasuerus (Lille), or David and Bathsheba (Cluny); or tales of heroes, like Moses (Chartres) and Abraham (Hampton Court). It is rather amusing to learn that Duke Philip the Good ordered a set of hangings to illustrate the Bible story of Gideon and the Fleece (Judges 6:36-40), which he had appropriated to his celebrated order of the Golden Fleece. Tapestries were, however, no less perishable than beautiful, and of all the vast products of the Flemish looms, we have left only a few museum specimens to study. They are beautiful, even though faded and tarnished, but they are mere ghosts of their original splendour. It is through con-

temporary inventories, rather than from a direct study of original pieces, that the modern student discovers how many subjects were from Bible literature.

While the Flemings made their tapestries serve the purposes of Bible illustration, replacing, as it were, the frescoes of the Italians, the Germans had a way of their own in accomplishing the same end. This was through wood-cuts and engravings. It was naturally the country where printing was invented which bore the richest harvest of these first fruits of the press. Martin Schongauer led the way, and was followed in the next generation by Albert Dürer and the "Little Masters" of Nuremberg. Augsburg claimed Hans Burgmair, and Nordlingen, Hans Schaüfelein, and the list is multiplied by many lesser names, and by many "*Inconnus.*" Finally Lucas van Leyden, from the town whose name he bears, loomed above the lesser men as a true compeer of Dürer.

From the hands of these designers issued an enormous output of prints scattered broadcast over the land. While the tapestries were

the luxury of the rich, the little prints were within the reach of all classes. Like the storied walls of Italy, they were the people's Bible, with the added advantage of being in the homes. As was inevitable in the stronghold of the Reformation, the German cycle of religious subjects was shaped by Protestant ideas, dealing less with the legends of the saints and more with the Bible itself than was common either in Italy or the Netherlands. Martin Schongauer came too early to feel this influence, but nearly all the sixteenth century German engravers show it by the number of Old Testament subjects in their lists. Probably it was only in Germany that an illustrator (Hans Schaüfelein) would have drawn from the Old Testament half the subjects to accompany a translation of Cicero. The story of the Fall is repeated *ad infinitum* in German prints, not only as the starting-point of any series, on almost any subject, in mediæval fashion, but as an independent picture. Perhaps the stern creed of the Reformation took this way of emphasizing the doctrine of original sin. Usually, however, the human interest is

a stronger motive than theology, and the choice of favourites is characteristic of Teutonic taste. Joseph is well liked as a hero. Samson has an undeserved popularity, while Abraham and Tobias are often in evidence. All these are the subject of serial treatment, in groups of several prints, five or six, ten or a dozen. When a single subject is taken from their lives, Abraham is represented by the Sacrifice, Joseph by the Temptation by Potiphar's Wife, and Samson by his betrayal at the hands of Delilah. From the New Testament, besides the series of the life of Christ and the Passion, series illustrating the Parables were in favour, like the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan. A few popular Venetian subjects were adopted by the Germans, like Esther and the Queen of Sheba, and, strange to say, the Supper at Emmaus. For Venice was in closer touch with Germany, geographically and historically, than the other cities of Italy. It must be confessed that there is a decided leaning toward coarse and indelicate situations, which the Italians, outwardly at least more refined, scarcely ever touch, as the

Seduction of Tamar, Lot with his two daughters, and Bathsheba discovered by David. Why the great King Solomon should so often be represented in the act of adoring idols is indeed a mystery, if the picture be not a political cartoon of some sort.

For such generalizations one has recourse to Bartsch, whose invaluable lists in the "Peintre Graveur" reconstruct for us that golden period when the prints, now competed for by collectors, were so copiously reproduced. The distinctive touch of the several masters one must learn to love by poring over the rare treasures of the museum and private cabinet. There are differences in handling which can be recognized but not defined. Broadly speaking, Dürer and Lucas van Leyden mark two opposite methods, between which the lesser men can be ranged as they verge toward one or the other of these standards. Setting side by side Dürer's Adam and Eve, from the plate of 1504, and Lucas van Leyden's Esther before Ahasuerus (1518) — each the work of a youth in the early twenties — we see the two engravers clearly contrasted. Dürer has a

Plate of 1518] [By Lucas van Leyden

ESTHER BEFORE AHASUERUS

bold, incisive line and a certain eccentricity and flourish in design, which an imitator easily exaggerates. Lucas has a finer line and a greater elaboration, and there is much grace and delicacy in his compositions and figure drawing.

Dürer's Adam and Eve (or Temptation) is typical of his lifelong devotion to the study of the human figure, to which his three posthumous volumes on the "Human Proportions" bear witness. The head of Adam is more like that of a Greek god, Hermes for instance, than the typical German ideal. Eve is a lovely Venus with flying hair. The plate is enlivened by delightful animal figures, — the perroquet, the kid, the cow, the hare. The cat crouching to pounce on a rat symbolizes the spirit of discord already entering Eden in the evil moment. Lucas van Leyden's Esther and Ahasuerus is remarkable for effects of chiaroscuro considerably in advance of contemporary standards. The kneeling queen is girlish and modest, the king, as regal as fine garments can make him without innate distinction, and the composition is enriched with

the courtiers about the throne, and the frightened maidens curtseying behind their mistress. The Old Testament story was well suited to the gifts of Lucas van Leyden, and he produced many of these subjects. One of his most charming series is the life of Joseph. Dürer, on the other hand, chose only two or three Old Testament themes for copper-plate or woodcut. Both men, in common with nearly all their fellow artists, devoted much thought to the subject of the Passion.

To the more serious temper of the Germans, our Lord's last sufferings appealed much more forcibly than to the Italians. They seemed to take a sombre pleasure in dwelling upon every detail of his agony, exaggerating the brutality of his enemies, and emphasizing the physical far above the spiritual. Lucas van Leyden's Passion series (there are two) are on the whole less painful and more refined than the average. Martin Schongauer's set (twelve plates) carries brutality to positive grotesqueness. Dürer's series hold to a middle course: they are at once characteristic of the German imagination, and characteristic of

Greater Passion Series] [By Dürer

THE RESURRECTION

Dürer's own singular and powerful personality. The Greater Passion (so called from the size of the plates, 15 x 10¾ inches) consists of twelve subjects. The Lesser Passion (size, 5 x 3⅞ inches) has thirty-seven. The Christ is an idealization of Dürer himself, with a narrow, oval face, well-cut features, and long, curling hair. His care-worn figure moves through all the scenes of agony with pathetic resignation. In the Resurrection all is changed. The Man of Sorrows becomes the Conqueror of Death. Spurning the grave, he rises in a glory of light, towering to the full height of his superb figure, his face calm and majestic.

It would make tedious reading to describe any great number of the Bible pictures which the long lists of Bartsch evoke in the imagination. To mention only a few of the longer series, we must give first place to the "Biblische Historien" by Hans Sebald Beham, a series of some seventy-three wood-cuts, issued in book form in three editions. This Hans Sebald, with his brother Barthel, were among the Little Masters of Nuremberg, and the

"least" of the group, if indeed the adjective refers to the size of their plates. Their tiny pictures are as precious as gems to the collector.

A rather elusive personality is that of Virgilius Solis, whose monogram is affixed to wood-cuts and engravings so numerous and so unequal in merit that it seems probable he was assisted by pupils. He outdid all his contemporaries in the matter of Bible illustration by publishing in Frankfort, in 1565, his "Biblische Figuren" in two series, the Old and the New Testament, consisting each of one hundred pieces, some two by four inches in size, with two Latin distichs above and two in German below. Besides these was "Die Propheten" (1500) of sixty-seven pieces and a miscellaneous collection of thirty-three pieces illustrating Bible subjects.

Somewhat on the order of Virgilius Solis's "Biblische Figuren," and much more famous, was Holbein's "Icones Historiarum Veteris Testamenti." This work apparently covered a period of some years, certain of the wood-cuts appearing in one publication, certain

others in another, until in 1537 the series in its entirety was published in book form in Lyons. A Bible reference headed each page, with a Latin title inscription, while below each picture was a quaint French stanza explaining the subject. A reproduction of this volume was published by the Holbein Society in London in 1869, and gives the student a capital idea of the work. The first thing that strikes one is the childlike simplicity of the little outline pictures. It is as perfect a child's picture-book as if the artist's first thought had been to please some little son or daughter of his own, selecting sympathetically the easiest and most entertaining subjects, passing over the more abstruse and indelicate, making even dry lists and statistics readable by ingenious diagrams, and never failing to point the moral.

The first days of Creation are dismissed as beyond the illustrator's scope, and we begin with the birth of Eve, in which the King of Heaven wears a splendid cross-tipped crown and royal mantle. In the subject of the Expulsion, the skeleton figure of death is sketched

into the picture, lurking behind the guilty pair. The same picture is used again by Holbein as the first in his strange series of the "Dance of Death." The Flood is simplified to a big box, floating on an expanse of water in a storm. The box is labelled — to the child's infinite satisfaction — "Archa Noi." Abraham and Joseph have some attention, and then we come to Moses, who is evidently the artist's favourite. The lawgiver is identified through some twenty scenes by his short quilted petticoat, over which a cape is worn. He has two small horns and a pointed beard precisely matching them.

The historical books yield delightful tales of battle, murder, and sudden death, of kings and knights and fair ladies. Esther, Job, and even the Psalms and Song of Solomon, are represented, and then the prophets from Isaiah to Zachariah. It is capital story-telling throughout, with a dramatic sense which reminds one of Giotto. The code of gestures is as primitive as in the child's world. The speaker points naïvely to the person or thing spoken of: the situation is obvious. Our artist is a

humourist, too. With what delightful extravagance he depicts the swagger of Joshua among the conquered kings, or the swashbuckling Uriah strutting about like a park policeman. It is, too, the humourous rather than the profounder aspects of Job's troubles which appealed to him, and we can imagine the relish with which he drew in the jeering friends. Occasional genre bits give the real German flavour to the whole thing. The Mocking of Elisha is one, where two or three chubby, curly-haired youngsters circle impudently about the Baldhead (the bear devouring a child in the rear). Another is the "Fool hath said in his heart," ingeniously illustrating the Fifty-third Psalm by a village simpleton stalking through the fields with the children at his heels.

From humour to pathos is a short step, and Holbein is quite as effective in the simple expressiveness of Isaiah's lamentation and Jonah's discouragement. We come at length to see, as we turn the pages, that much that seems as simple as child's play is really great art. The suggestion of a distant landscape in a few

masterly lines, the massing of towers and castles to indicate a town, the impression of action conveyed by pose and gesture, the swirl of line which means tongues of flame, can be done only by one who knows how. Though the author of the "Icones" had the heart of a child, his hand was that of a master.

The series of German Bible wood-cuts of the sixteenth century were naturally followed by illustrated Bibles, which became very numerous in the succeeding years. We shall have occasion in a later chapter to refer to some of their lineal descendants in the nineteenth century.

# IX

## SOME BIBLE ILLUSTRATORS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: POUSSIN, RUBENS, AND VAN DYCK

IN the transition from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, the art map of Europe passed through great changes. Painting had now fallen into decadence in Italy, and had reached a splendid development in Spain and the Netherlands, while France also had to be reckoned with. There was, besides, a general expansion of the field of painting along lines first marked out in the late Renaissance. Portraiture, landscape, animal painting, and still life began to be cultivated as independent arts. Bible illustration was still in evidence, though contesting honours with so many rival interests. Subjects which had been popular for a

decade of centuries were not likely to be quickly laid aside. The difficulty was that the Italian motives were now so fixed that painters could not get away from them. Most Bible illustrators could think of nothing better to do than to go on, indefinitely, making weak imitations of the Old Masters.

Chief of the Italianates was Poussin, who spent much of his time in Rome, dividing his enthusiasm between the late Italians and the antique. His subjects were drawn impartially from the Bible and classic mythology. The compositional methods were borrowed from Raphael and his school, while the separate figures were modelled upon classic sculpture. Stately Greek and Roman temples fill the background; graceful groups of figures are symmetrically disposed in the nearer planes. Whether moving through the pages of Homer or Ovid, the Pentateuch or the Gospels, we are in the company of gods and heroes. Among forty-odd Old Testament subjects, the majority are from Moses' life. A favourite subject was the Finding of Moses in the Bulrushes, which he treated in at least five dis-

similar pictures. Any one of these might at first glance be taken as Nausicaa and her maidens, the feeling is so severely classical. The maidens have the perfect Greek profile, with parted hair held in place by a fillet and knotted at the back. Their white arms gleam from their sleeveless tunics, and their draperies fall from the girdle in flowing lines. Every pose and gesture is statuesque. Engraved in outline, the compositions are precisely like bas-reliefs. Even such subjects as the Passage of the Red Sea, and Moses at the Rock are in the grand classical manner, with groups in dignified, symmetrical order. There is nothing violent or unseemly in any pose or gesture; every woman is graceful, every man heroic. There are two of these pictures in the Louvre. In the same gallery also is the Fall of Manna, one of the painter's most celebrated works (1639). It contains a great variety of figures, expressing every phase of emotion with which the miracle was received. Many of these may be traced directly to the classic motives which inspired them: the Laocoon, the Niobe, the Antinous, the Apollo, and even the Venus de'

Medici. Poussin's New Testament subjects are of about the same number as those from the Old, besides many pictures of the Holy Family. Nearly every theme in the life of Christ treated by the Italians is in the list, from the Annunciation and the Nativity to the Crucifixion and Entombment. These pictures are not, however, so interesting or important as the Old Testament works.

Another notable French painter of the seventeenth century, contemporary of Poussin, and living in Rome at the same time, is Claude Gelée, commonly known as Claude Lorraine from the country of his birth. The Lorraine was the first great landscape painter in the modern sense, a forerunner of Corot in casting a poetic glamour over nature. In nearly all his pictures he introduced figures, as Corot also did in his earlier works, to give character and interest to the scenery. The Bible story often supplied this material, but the title was merely nominal. An angel appearing to a pretty young woman might represent equally well the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary, or the angel visiting the outcast Hagar. Fa-

vourite subjects were the Flight into Egypt, and scenes from the lives of the patriarchs, Jacob and Rachel, and Isaac and Rebecca. The figures are so small in proportion to the size of the composition that the subject is really of no consequence. The pictures cannot properly be classed as Bible illustrations.

The art temper of the Netherlands was more vigorous and independent than that of France, yet even here no painter could arrive at distinction without first paying his respects to the Renaissance Italians. The conditions for art development in the great Flemish cities duplicated in some points those of Florence and Venice at their height. There was great wealth for the commercial basis, and there was a similar ambition to beautify churches with noble painting. There was in consequence a large product of altar-pieces illustrating the same Bible subjects which had flourished in Italy.

The representative Fleming of the period is the great Rubens, idolized by his own people, and admired by all his foreign contemporaries. Italian influence came early into his life, and

shaped more or less definitely his mature ideals. At the age of twenty-three he set out from his home in Antwerp, and did not return till the close of seven years' wanderings in southern Europe. Venice and Rome held him long in their thrall. Some of the great Bible decorations had special attractions for him: Tintoretto's works in S. Rocco, Michelangelo's ceiling in the Sistine Chapel, and Raphael's tapestries. The many drawings which he made of these works impressed them indelibly on his memory. It was the dramatic element in them which his own powerful imagination leaped to recognize. He naturally cared nothing for the more sober work of the fifteenth century Italians. Giulio Romano and Caravaggio, with all their extravagance, were more to his taste.

Returning to Antwerp in 1607, he entered at once upon a great career. One of his first commissions was for an elaborate triptych, with a central panel illustrating the Elevation of the Cross. It is assumed that the Saviour was nailed to the cross while it was still flat upon the ground, and that the structure was

then raised to an upright position by means of ropes. We come upon the scene in the midst of this process. The motive will be remembered as the same in one of the groups of Tintoretto's Crucifixion at S. Rocco (p. 149), from which it was undoubtedly borrowed. Rubens, however, makes it much more real and vivid than an Italian would have dared to make it — even Tintoretto. The men strain at the ropes with might and main; others support the cross in its oblique position, and the whole mass of figures sway to and fro with the effort. Lifted above the tumult, the Saviour raises his eyes to heaven, as if in communion with his Father.

The Elevation of the Cross was soon followed by the Descent from the Cross, which is also the main panel of a triptych. Here again Rubens's intensely dramatic sense vivifies an old Italian motive. It would seem as if he must have had Fra Angelico's altar-piece in mind for the basis of his design (p. 124). The action of the two upper figures is very similar, while St. John on the right and the kneeling Magdalene on the left fill the same

rôles in the same relative positions. What the Florentine monk could only suggest, Rubens carried out with vigorous realism. The lifeless body collapses in a pathetic heap, and the mother — this at least is Rubens's own idea — stretches forth her hand to steady the swaying arm. The men above handle their burden by means of a long winding-sheet, and St. John's supple figure bends backward under the weight they transfer to him. The effectiveness of the diagonal line of light across the composition Rubens had already proved in the Elevation of the Cross, and the motive is now used again with even greater success. In all technical qualities the picture is a masterpiece, and in point of noble sentiment it marks the highest level of Rubens as a religious painter.

The Descent from the Cross was so widely admired that the subject came into great demand. Rubens repeated the composition, with more or less variation, in at least six different pictures for churches of other towns. Commissions for religious subjects now crowded upon him. The largest undertaking of the

Antwerp Cathedral] [By Rubens

THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS

sort was the decoration of a Jesuit church at Antwerp (1620), with thirty-nine Biblical pictures, each somewhat over six by nine feet in dimensions. The subjects were from the Old and New Testaments, arranged in symbolic pairs, in the mediæval manner. So colossal a work could not have been accomplished without the aid of assistants, and Van Dyck was in this case his chief dependence. A century after the completion of the work, the building and contents were destroyed by fire, and the few copies and sketches, which are our only data, give no idea of the magnitude and quality of the work.

In subjects of our Lord's Passion Rubens was at his best as a religious painter. His dramatic sense had here full play; strong emotion and vigorous action were the necessities of his art. These elements he had in full measure in such subjects as the Ascent of Calvary (of the Brussels Museum), the Crucifixion (of the Louvre), the Coup de Lance and the Lamentation over the Dead Christ (of the Antwerp Museum). Dealing with more delicate and subtle situations, he falls far

short of devotional feeling. In the Raising of Lazarus (Berlin), the Doubting Thomas (Antwerp Museum), the Feast in the House of the Pharisee (St. Petersburg), and the Last Supper (Milan), the Christ is weak, some of the figures are coarse, and the action is commonplace. The composition is the most striking quality of all these pictures, for in this point Rubens almost always excelled. Particularly good in this respect is the Raising of Lazarus, with its well-arranged triangular group, the figure of Christ describing a long, unbroken line from apex to base.

The Adoration of the Magi was Rubens's special delight. Again and again he painted the subject with splendid decorative effect and with rich harmonies of colour, like a design in tapestry. The mother is the plump Flemish beauty familiar as Rubens's special type, the child the cherub Rubens loved to paint. The kings are finely differentiated, the Nubian being especially good, swaggering in his Oriental finery, and rolling his round eyes with delight. Other figures crowd every available spot, the camels and their riders towering over

Berlin Gallery] [By Rubens

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS

all, to the very rafters. The finest of the many pictures — there are at least six, and some have estimated the number at fifteen — is in the Antwerp Museum. For purely picturesque qualities, the work is unexcelled among Rubens's compositions.

A few Old Testament pictures complete Rubens's list of Bible subjects: Adam and Eve (Hague gallery), Abraham and Melchisedec, and the Israelites in the Wilderness (Duke of Westminster's collection), the Flight of Lot (Louvre), and Daniel in the Lions' Den and Moses with the Brazen Serpent in private collections. A few coarser subjects affected by the German engravers also engaged his brush: Samson and Delilah, Judith and Holofernes, and Bathsheba bathing. His sacred subjects were not of course exclusively Biblical, some of his most notable altar-pieces illustrating figures and legends of the saints. Historical painting and portraiture — not to mention diplomacy — also occupied much of his time and energy. On the whole, it was circumstances rather than taste which made him a religious painter, adaptability rather

than native fitness which constituted him a Bible illustrator.

A multitude of names cluster about that of Rubens, as friends, pupils, and collaborators, but the greatest of these is Van Dyck. There was a difference of twenty-two years in the ages of the two men, and when the young Van Dyck entered the studio of his friend in 1618, Rubens was in full professional activity. The disciple was soon collaborating with the master, as we have seen, and his next ambition was to follow in Rubens's footsteps in Italy. In 1621 he set forth on a journey which lasted five years, and which took him to Genoa, Florence, Rome, Bologna, Milan, and Venice. A sketch-book was his constant travelling companion, and this precious volume, preserved in the collections of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, is a complete record of his studies. It is interesting to see wherein his tastes differed from those of Rubens. At Rome he had no eyes for Michelangelo, and at Venice, it was not Tintoretto, but Titian, who held him. The dramatic and the vigorous were second in his

Buckingham Palace] [By Van Dyck

CHRIST AND THE PARALYTIC

mind to dignity and refinement with elevated feeling.

It was in all probability from Titian that he derived the composition for two important Biblical works of the Italian sojourn: the Betrayal of Christ and Christ Crowned with Thorns. Each of these pictures was painted in two versions and all are interesting and beautiful. The great Betrayal of the Madrid gallery is particularly notable. The scene is enveloped in midnight darkness, lighted by the fitful glare of a huge torch borne in the hands of a soldier. A single gleam falls on the fine and thoughtful face of the Saviour, as he turns to receive the greeting of Judas, and in the dim light two brutal arms are seen behind their victim, poised to throw a knotted rope over his head. The Tribute-money is still another subject Van Dyck owed to Titian's influence (Palazzo Bianco, Genoa). He did not of course copy line for line, but he infused his own individuality into the ideals of the great Venetian. Titian's head of Christ appealed to him strongly, and he made the type his own with certain modifications. Christ

Healing the Paralytic is a beautiful work in the Titianesque manner (Buckingham Palace). The Saviour's face seems less austere than with Titian, framed by the heavy, long hair. The features are perhaps a shade less fine and intellectual, but that indefinable air of melancholy which Van Dyck imparted to so many of his portraits gives distinction to the head.

Returning to Antwerp, in 1626, Van Dyck occupied himself for the next six years with the same miscellaneous programme of commissions — portraits and altar-pieces — which engaged Rubens. His refinement and seriousness were better qualifications for religious painting than Rubens's more exuberant gifts, but he lacked invention. It seemed quite beyond him to originate new compositions. The boldness with which he borrowed his motives from the older painter is quite startling, though there seems to be no record that the habit gave offence either to patrons or master. If Van Dyck took his Elevation of the Cross from Rubens, had not Rubens himself borrowed from Tintoretto? The Crucifixion was

Antwerp Museum] [By Van Dyck

THE CRUCIFIXION

beyond all comparison Van Dyck's best sacred subject. He painted it from fifteen to twenty times. Whether it was the single figure of the divine Sufferer alone on his cross, or the historical subject, with the three crosses and the throng of spectators, he makes the scene dignified and solemn. The body of the Saviour is robust and beautiful, not emaciated; the countenance is sorrowful but resigned, not agonized or grief-distorted.

There is the same sort of feeling in the subject of the Lamentation, or Pietà, which Van Dyck painted eight or ten times with more originality than any other religious composition. It is poignant without being harrowing. The relaxed figure of the dead Christ is peaceful and beautiful; the grief of the Mother is noble and restrained; St. John and Mary Magdalene are young and lovely companions of her distress. Perhaps the finest of the several versions is in the Antwerp Museum. In the pictures of the Berlin and Munich Galleries, sympathetic angels are introduced.

But Van Dyck could not go on for ever

painting the Crucifixion and the Lamentation. Though historical painting was the height of his ambition, he could not compete with Rubens in this field. Portraiture became more and more clearly his forte, and his Biblical painting came to an end when, in 1632, he left Antwerp to pass the remainder of his life at the court of England.

# X

## SOME BIBLE ILLUSTRATORS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Continued*): REMBRANDT AND MURILLO

AS we travel northward on our map of seventeenth-century Europe, the influence of Italy wanes. The northern provinces of the Netherlands were made of sterner stuff than the southern. They had followed the lead of Germany in the Reformation, and they practised their religion with more austerity and less æstheticism than their Flemish neighbours. The Dutch cities, like Amsterdam, Leyden, and Harlem, did not, like Antwerp, Mechlin, and Bruges, fill their churches with altar-pieces in the Italian manner. So far as they encouraged Bible illustration at all, their repertory of subjects was drawn from the Germans

rather than from the Italians. Like the German engravers, they were partial to the Old Testament rather than to the legends of saints and martyrs.

The essential spirit of Dutch art was embodied in Rembrandt. He was a true lover of human nature, and he loved it in its homeliest aspects. Compared with such citizens of the world as Rubens and Van Dyck, he was intensely provincial. Amsterdam afforded him all the material for his life work; the extent of his travels was the journey to and from his native Leyden. Italy had no charms for him: he did not need to learn colour of the Venetians, or drawing of the Florentines; for line and colour were far less to him than the mysteries of light. He did not need to seek inspiration from the ideals of the past, for his own imagination was inexhaustible. The commonest things of life were instinct with beauty and significance. For, humanist and realist though he was, in the last analysis, he was a poet and a visionary.

As an ardent collector of prints, he found among the works of the old German engravers

many Bible subjects to his liking. With or without orders, he pursued these subjects all through his life. He probably painted a greater number of separate Old Testament illustrations than was ever produced by a single painter. The mingled poetry and prose of the patriarchal life appealed to him forcibly. His preference was for strenuous situations like the Sacrifice of Abraham, Jacob wrestling with the Angel, and Joseph's brothers bringing the bloody coat to their father. The wrath of Moses dashing the tables of stone to the earth (Ex. 32:19), the brooding despair of the mad King Saul, listening to the music of David (I Sam. 16:23), the humiliation of Haman, imploring grace of Esther (Esther 7:7), the terror of Belshazzar at the mysterious handwriting on the wall (Dan. 5:6), even the horror of Samson's fate (Judges 16:21), appealed to the more sombre side of his imagination. His feeling for mystery and solemnity is well illustrated in such subjects as Manoah's Sacrifice (Judges 13:19-21), and the Angel leaving Tobit (Apocrypha). The pathetic helplessness of the blind old Isaac bless-

ing the belated Esau, and the fine dignity of the dying Jacob blessing the sons of Joseph, bring out another — perhaps the finest and deepest quality of Rembrandt's temperament.

Some of these characters interested him so much that he reverted to them many times, not only to draw upon the several incidents of their lives, but even to repeat the same subjects with more or less variation. His overflow of ideas found an outlet in his etchings which expressed sometimes the germ, sometimes the afterthought of a subject, more fully worked out in a painting. It is interesting to compare etchings and paintings, and see how his imagination played about a theme as a musician weaves variations upon a favourite air. In the greater number of Old Testament subjects the important figure is an old man. As Abraham is about to strike the deadly blow, we look away from the beautiful figure of Isaac to the noble old face of the patriarch, filled with wondering awe at the sudden interruption. In the Dismissal of Hagar, where sympathy is usually with the outcasts, our admiration is all for Abraham, strong and

"THE SACRIFICE OF ABRAHAM." — FROM A PAINTING BY REMBRANDT.

determined, yet full of benignity. In the Sacrifice of Manoah, it is the old man rather than his pretty young wife who gives the proper note of solemn awe to the picture. Joseph Relating his Dream awakens little interest for the youth himself, but we watch instead the surprise and incredulity in Jacob's countenance. And in the sequel to the story, where the guilty brethren bring the blood-stained coat to their father (Gen. 37: 33), the broken-hearted old man entirely overshadows the others. Old age is indeed Rembrandt's peculiar province, one might almost say his own discovery. It was not merely that he could reproduce cunningly the texture of withered skin, but he was past master in the language of character and experience, as it is recorded in the lines of the face. With what delicate insight he has discriminated between the more passive character of Isaac and the active temper of Jacob, as he has portrayed these patriarchs in their last moments. Isaac sinks back among his pillows, as Esau claims his blessing, baffled by the deception of the other son (Gen. 27: 33); Jacob, strong and self-willed

to the last, strives to rise to sitting posture, and, undeterred by his son's remonstrance, lays his trembling hand on the head of the younger grandchild (Gen. 48:19). The life history of the two men is epitomized in these works.

Women are infrequent in Rembrandt's pictures, being a pictorial rather than a dramatic element of his illustrations. Queen Esther seems to be a portrait of the painter's young wife, Saskia, a dainty creature, but without force. Joseph's wife, smiling to see her favourite son preferred, is not without subtlety, and stands out in memory above others. Nor is the child an attractive figure with Rembrandt: David is a strange little gnome, the boy Joseph a prig, and the youthful Daniel a dull fellow. It follows that this lover of character and virility was not at ease with angels. Though so often having to paint them, he never settled upon any distinctive type to make it his own. His best effort is the glorious being in the picture of Tobit, swimming upward through the air with outspread wings.

The models for Rembrandt's Old Testa-

ment characters were drawn from the Jewish colony, so numerous in his time in Amsterdam, ranging from the beggar to the money-lender. The painter had a keen eye for those salient features of the race which have remained unchanged throughout the centuries. The Turkish costume, with the rich turban, served him admirably to suggest the Oriental magnificence he attributed to the patriarchs. For the rest he troubled himself in no way about details. His highest means of expression was in the contrast of light and shade. The dim corners of his pictures are full of mystery. The light focuses on the centre of composition with a wonderful golden glow.

In the New Testament story Rembrandt was attracted by some of the parables: the Prodigal Son, the Labourers in the Vineyard (St. Petersburg), and the Good Samaritan. The last subject he etched and painted several times. The painting of the Louvre (1648) is the best known picture, representing the party arriving at the inn. The wounded man is borne across the courtyard by two inn servants, and the Good Samaritan, standing at the

door, explains the situation. Nothing could be better in its way than the expressiveness of the sufferer and the compassionate countenance of his benefactor.

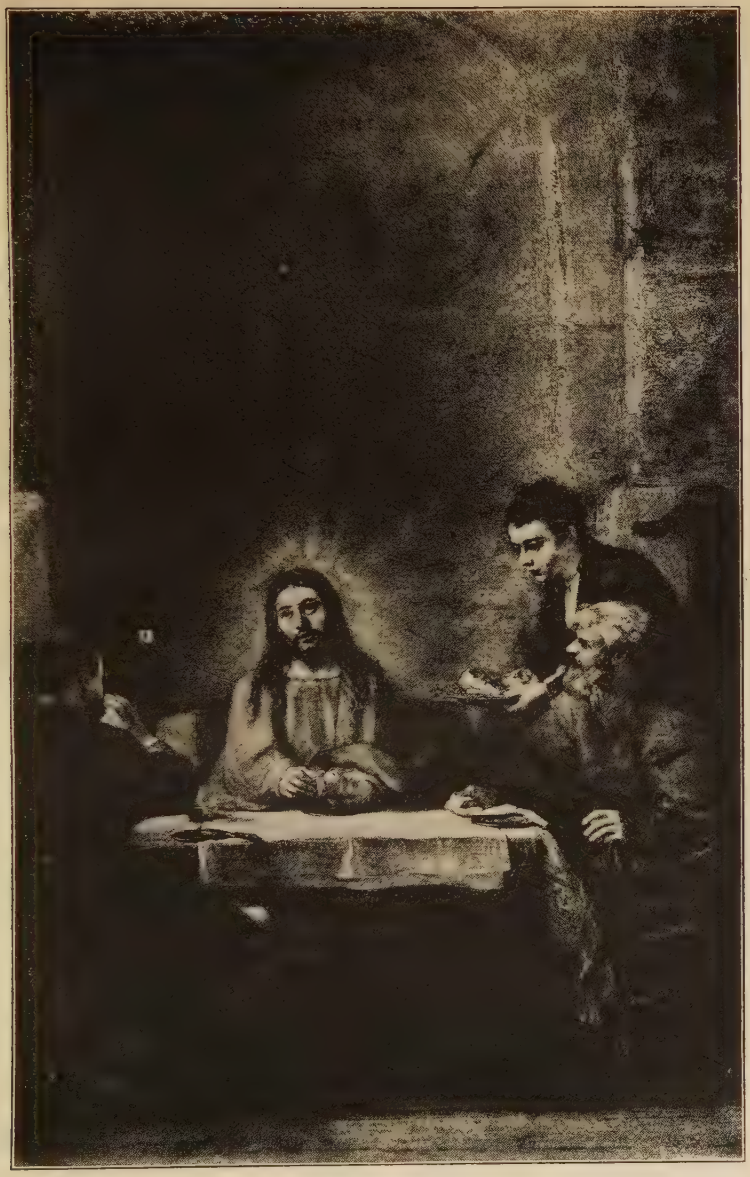
Subjects from the life of Christ are not numerous in Rembrandt's works and are not uniformly attractive, but there are a few which are miracles of light and shade. The Saviour himself is only a peasant. His face is winning because it is so gentle, or, rather, because it is so wistful. It has none of the distinction which the Italian masters gave it. But in the transfiguring power of light it shines with supernatural radiance. This effect is produced in etchings as well as in paintings. The Raising of Lazarus, the Descent from the Cross, Christ preaching, and Christ healing are the subjects of some of the most important works of Rembrandt's burin. The etching of Christ healing is better known as the "Hundred Guilder" print, from the value Rembrandt himself originally set upon it. Among modern collectors it now sells for many times that sum. A pitiable throng has gathered about the Saviour, the lame, the halt, and the

blind, tottering old men, withered old crones, and tender babes borne in their mothers' arms. At the sight of so much misery, an expression of indescribable compassion comes into the face of the Master. He stretches forth his hand as if to welcome and comfort his people. A great star of light vibrates behind his head, and throws his figure into relief against the surrounding darkness.

The Supper at Emmaus is Rembrandt's own subject. He had found it, we may suppose, in Dürer's Little Passion, perhaps among other German prints, and it had deeply impressed him. He had tried it first in an etching, as was his wont, then he painted it once and again, and still later etched it a second time. He adopted, or, rather, adapted, Dürer's composition, with the small square table and the three figures about it, the risen Saviour revealing himself in the breaking of the bread. Of the several variations, the painting of the Louvre is the perfect summing up of his thought. The pangs of death have left their mark upon the patient face: the expression is full of pathos. But an inner light

irradiates its pallor, as if the divine effulgence were already breaking through the veil of flesh. A mysterious phosphorescence plays about the head, and floods the table. The wayfarers gaze at their companion in amazement. "And their eyes were opened and they knew him."

We pass from one extreme of racial temperament to another, when we turn from Rembrandt to Murillo. The Dutch master stands for force and virility, and the Spaniard is too often open to the charge of weakness and sentimentality. In craftsmanship, also, the two men were as sharply contrasted as the gray skies of Holland and the brilliant sunshine of Spain. Yet they meet on common ground in certain points of Bible illustration. Both brought to their work a homely simplicity of spirit which makes a natural bond of kinship between them. Both were intensely human in their sympathies; both found a charm in the commonplace. Like Rembrandt, Murillo passed his life in his own country and drew his material from his own surroundings. It was his early ambition to visit Italy, and he left his native Seville for that purpose in 1642.



Louvre, Paris] [By Rembrandt

THE SUPPER AT EMMAUS

As it proved, he got no farther than Madrid, where, as the protégé of the court painter Velasquez, he had access to the splendid royal collections. With the exception of Titian, however, his own contemporaries, rather than the Renaissance Italians, were his inspiration: Ribera and Velasquez of Spain, and Rubens and Van Dyck of the Netherlands. Three years' study of these masters prepared him for his life work.

The demand for religious painting in Spain in the seventeenth century corresponded to that of Renaissance Italy even more closely than in the Netherlands. It was a land of monasteries, and the various brotherhoods were proud of decorating their buildings with great works of art. Murillo was kept busy with commissions for vast mural decorations. Most of his subjects were from the history of the monastic orders, but from time to time he had opportunity for Bible subjects. His largest work of this kind was (1670 - 1674) for the Charity Hospital of Seville, for which he painted eleven pictures, marking his finest achievement. Six of these subjects illustrated

from Bible story the "works of mercy" enjoined in our Lord's parable (Matt. 25: 35-36): "For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me." On one wall, Moses striking the rock represented the giving of drink to the thirsty, Abraham and the three angels, the entertainment of strangers, and the Return of the Prodigal ("Bring forth the best robe and put it on him"), for the clothing of the naked. On the opposite wall, the Miracle of Loaves stood for the feeding of the hungry, the Healing of the Lame Man at the Pool of Bethesda, for the ministry to the sick, and the Liberation of Peter, for the visiting of prisoners.

Only two of these pictures remain in their original positions: the companion subjects of Moses at the Rock and the Miracle of Loaves. They are immense oblong compositions, peopled with a multitude of figures, and full of human interest. In the first picture one would know that the painter was a lover of children

from the number of thirsty little ones clamouring for a drink. One poor little fellow is weak and faint from his suffering, but most of them drink like eager young animals, and one beautiful boy, perched on a horse, has already quenched his thirst, and points gleefully to the stream gushing from the rock. In the midst stands Moses, returning thanks for the gift, a noble figure, dominating the scene with his commanding presence. This is a case where Murillo has surpassed those contemporaries to whom criticism has assigned a higher place than his own. Poussin's Moses, in the same subject, is insignificant, Rembrandt's Moses, breaking the tables of the law, is mediocre, and Rubens's Moses, lifting the Brazen Serpent, is effeminate, beside the majestic presence which Murillo has evoked. The Miracle of the Loaves is less admirable, for the figure of Christ has not sufficient dignity or prominence. He is seated on a rock at one side, blessing the loaves, while Andrew and the boy with the fishes — a charming group — occupy the real centre. A wide reach of mountain landscape, at the right, is very attractive, and shows the

HOLBROOK LIBRARY
PACIFIC SCHOOL
OF RELIGION

multitude seated in orderly companies, awaiting the bread. Of the remaining pictures, scattered in different galleries, the most often described, but seldom if ever reproduced, are the Prodigal Son, and the Pool of Bethesda, illustrated with great tenderness, and painted in Murillo's best manner.

The life of the Old Testament hero Jacob was the subject of many pictures by Murillo. Some of these works are lost, and some are known to us only by engravings, but the most famous is undoubtedly the Dream of Jacob, or Jacob's Ladder, in the Hermitage Gallery at St. Petersburg. The charm of this picture is that it exactly reproduces the scene called up by the words of the text — the material ladder resting on the earth, and reaching into the clouds, the angels ascending and descending on alternate rounds. A glory of light floods the heavenly highway and touches the sleeping peasant on the ground, while the surrounding landscape is lost in gloom. In Murillo's own country the conditions of peasant life in the seventeenth century were not widely different from those of the Hebrew patriarchs. Among

Madrid Gallery] [By Murillo

REBECCA AND HER MAIDENS AT THE WELL

the vineyards and olive orchards of Andalusia dark-eyed maidens and swarthy men went to and fro about their pursuits, forming unconscious pictures of pastoral life, ready-made illustrations of Bible story. It needed but a touch to convert an ordinary wayside scene into Rebecca and her Maidens at the Well, Ruth and Naomi departing from Moab, or the Meeting of Jacob and Rachel. All these subjects Murillo painted as charming Spanish idyls. Rebecca and her Maidens is a particularly beautiful picture in which some critics fancy they trace the influence of Rubens.

In the New Testament story, Murillo's favourite subject was the Adoration of the Shepherds. Like the stories of the patriarchal life, he painted the group precisely as if he had himself come upon the scene in a country town of Andalusia. The mother is a simple peasant girl, quite at home in her humble surroundings. The shepherds are big, powerfully built country folk, clad in skins and homespun garments. They bring, besides the lamb, some fowl and a basket of eggs, and they offer their devotion with touching piety. The light is con-

centrated on the Child, in the way the Spaniards had learned of the late Italians. Other subjects from the life of Christ which Murillo painted several times were Christ crowned with thorns (Ecce Homo), the Crucifixion, and the Deposition. An intensely devout nature, — one might compare him with Fra Angelico in this, — he imparted to all these subjects a pure devotional sentiment.

There is one field in which Murillo was an originator, or, rather, a specialist. No one before him, and no one since, has painted so many ideal figures of the Christ child and the boy St. John Baptist. Each of these was the subject of about a dozen pictures. His fondness for child subjects is conspicuous in all his work. Wherever there was an excuse for introducing them, he did so, filling every available space in every possible picture with child angels. He drew his material from the street children of Seville, unkempt and half-clad, but always picturesque. He painted them first just as he found them, in all their dirt and rags. The same models, having passed through the refining processes of idealism,

reappear among the cherubic hosts, or figure as the child Jesus or the boy St. John. The Christ child is fair, with golden hair and blue eyes, the little Baptist is swarthy and dark-haired, and plays with a lamb, St. John's symbol of the Redeemer. Both are charming, and never more so than when they are brought together, as in the Children of the Shell, where the Christ child, eager and generous, holds the cup to his playmate's lips. Such pictures may not be strictly speaking Bible illustrations, but they are the first expression in art of the new teachings which Jesus brought into the world of the beauty and value of childhood.

# XI

## THE BIBLE IN MODERN ART: ENGLISH AND EARLY ANGLO-AMERICAN SCHOOLS

IT is something of an anticlimax in our study to pass from the great historic art periods of the past to the last two prosaic centuries. The religious impulse, which was the original *raison d'être* of art, had slowly yielded to other formative influences. Finally art itself, so long the paramount interest, had sunk into insignificance among the multitude of new forces of civilization. There are no names in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to replace the great names of the sixteenth and seventeenth century painters, no church decorations to duplicate the Sistine Chapel and the School of S. Rocco, no Bible illustrators to succeed Rembrandt and Murillo. Yet this

does not mean an absolute lack of modern Bible illustrations. On the contrary, there has been no decade without evidence of the wonderful hold of the Bible story upon the imagination of the artist. A careful survey of the field will bring to light much interesting material.

In the eighteenth century the stronghold of serious art was in England. Here, on the foundation laid by artists imported from the Netherlands, was builded the noble school of portrait painting, of which Reynolds and Gainsborough, Lawrence, Romney, and Opie were the chief ornaments. Among these men there was the same tendency to divide their effort between portraiture and historical painting that was characteristic of the seventeenth-century painters. There was this difference, however, that, while the latter did both kinds of work almost equally well, the Englishmen were lamentably weak on the ideal side. The story-telling impulse was indeed strong in the English temperament. It found outlet in allegorical and mythological pictures and in illustrations of English literature. Bible subjects

were pursued, not from any great demand for them as church decorations, but largely as the result of Italian influence. As Cunningham quaintly observed (in the "Lives of the English Painters"), all English artists were taught that "the way of perfection lay through the Sistine Chapel," and that they had "only to inhale the air of Italy to become as inspired as Michelangelo and Raphael." Every painter was ambitious to try some great subject from the traditional Biblical cycle. By collecting these scattering examples, one might make a catalogue long enough to be impressive, if it meant anything. But who has ever heard of James Barry's Sacrifice of Abraham, or Daniel in the Lions' Den, if indeed of James Barry himself? of Sir Thomas Lawrence's boyish efforts at Haman and Mordecai and Peter's Denial, or of Northcote's Judgment of Solomon and the Miraculous Draught of Fishes? Or of what profit if one had heard of Opie's once popular Jephthah's Vow, or of Reynolds's Nativity? It is no great loss to Bible illustration that these and similar insignificant pictures were long since forgotten.

National Gallery, London] [By Reynolds

SAMUEL

Reynolds's Little Samuel is one of the few to survive, not merely because it is in the National Gallery, but because Reynolds is always charming in the delineation of childhood. Some few others are known through engravings, like Opie's Hannah presenting Samuel to Eli, which is a rather attractive picture.

William Blake, poet, painter, and engraver, though the contemporary of these men, is hardly to be classed with the English school of painting. The work for which he is famous is his "inventions," or designs, in engraving. By some secret process he cut on copper plates both text and illustrations of his creations, making, as it were, a new kind of block book. His imagination was powerful and erratic. So vividly did he visualize his ideals that they had for him actual objective existence. So constantly did he yield himself to the creative frenzy that he finally lost volitional control of his fancy. In the illustrations of the Book of Job, he is an interpreter rather than an originator, and perhaps it was because his thought was thus guided by another's that he is here at his sanest and best. One might have feared

that the fantastic imagery of the poem would run away with him, but he has, on the contrary, shed light on its obscurity.

The book opens with the idyllic scene of the family group under the fig-tree. Then follow the several episodes of the tragedy, with the successive appeals of Satan to God; the crashing walls of the elder son's house, the messenger of evil tidings, and the strange bodily affliction of Job. In the last subject the arch fiend stands on the prostrate body of his victim, pouring upon him the fiery contents of a vial of wrath. Enter next the three friends, with hands upraised in horror to see Job lying naked on an ash heap. In the following picture they kneel with bowed heads as he curses the day of his birth. Now follow the more visionary subjects, suggested by the pictorial phraseology of the narrative: the vision of Eliphaz, — "then a spirit passed before my face," — the majestic figure of the Almighty standing before the sleeper in a blazing mandorla; the gruesome nightmare of Job, — "with dreams thou scarest me," — demons clutching from below and a mighty hobgoblin

The Book of Job] [By William Blake

WHEN THE MORNING STARS SANG TOGETHER

stretching his horrible length above the sleeper. Then enters Elihu, young and fair, pointing to the starry heavens. Then "the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind," the Jove-like figure sweeping forward in a swirl of clouds, like the Creator on the Sistine Chapel ceiling. The climax is reached in the glorious vision of creation, where the "sons of God," standing in a row, with arms and pinions interlaced, shout for joy among the morning stars. The story ends charmingly with the reassembling of the family under the tree, singing with musical instruments.

Neither the enumeration of the subjects, nor an account of the detached figures, can give any adequate idea of the remarkable pictorial quality of these plates. They are quite startling in what, in modern parlance, we call the "electrical effects": the glory of the rising or setting sun, the radiance of the divine mandorla, the lurid shower of lightning, shivering through the whirlwind, the play of northern light over the distant hills. The decorative margins are beautiful, too, with various in-

scriptions woven among waving lines or festoons of angels.

As the great English painters passed away, the English school was glad to fill the broken ranks with recruits from America. Benjamin West — for twenty-eight years president of the Royal Academy — and Washington Allston were the most notable of the Anglicized Americans of the early nineteenth century. West devoted himself almost exclusively to historical and religious works, both the Old and the New Testaments furnishing him many subjects. The entire number of his pictures, nearly all of great size, reached a prodigious figure. The painter and his admirers had no doubt that they would rank permanently among the works of the Old Masters. One of the most delightful passages in Leigh Hunt's Autobiography recalls the visits of his boyhood to the famous painter's house, where he and his mother used to pass slowly through the long gallery, pausing before one and another of their favourites. He mentions, among other things, the deep impression made by the Deluge and Moses on Mt. Sinai; and "the

Metropolitan Museum, New York] [By West

HAGAR AND ISHMAEL

awful delight afforded by the Angel Slaying the Army of Sennacherib, a bright figure lording it in the air, with a chaos of human beings below." Of West's many subjects from the life of Christ, one of the finest is Christ Rejected, in the Pennsylvania Academy, Philadelphia. In the portico of a palace thronged with a great company of people, our Lord stands on a platform at the left, confronting his enemies. In the centre Pilate appeals to Caiaphas, who repudiates the appeal with a vigorous gesture.

As Philadelphia cherishes the memory of Benjamin West, Boston is equally proud of her Washington Allston, who far surpassed his contemporaries in the delicacy and originality of his Bible illustrations. Had he always been able to keep up to the level of Jacob's Dream or Uriel in the Sun, we might have had a Bible series unique alike for imaginative power and artistic beauty. Unhappily, however, he was abnormally sensitive to environing conditions, and missed keenly in America the art atmosphere he had enjoyed in England. His Jeremiah and Miriam, painted

immediately after his return, were by no means in the same class as his previous works, while the great Belshazzar is a melancholy failure.

The Dead Man Revived is the very unusual subject of his first success. It is founded on the story in second Kings of a body about to be buried in the grave of Elisha, which is brought to life by contact with the prophet's bones. Allston's figure of the reviving man in a sitting posture, drawing off his shroud, is vigorously conceived, recalling the Old Masters' treatment of the Raising of Lazarus (Pennsylvania Academy, Philadelphia). The transition from this to the exquisite picture of Jacob's Dream shows the range of Allston's capacity. The "ladder" is a broad highway of light leading to the supernal regions, where, dimly discerned in the heavenly glory, a company of angels circle about. The angels who have descended to earth to bless the sleeping patriarch are among the loveliest in art, not even excepting Fra Angelico's. Another lovely angel, though not quite so original in type, is in the Liberation of Peter, a picture in the Insane Hospital at Worcester, Mass.

The apostle, half-rising, looks up amazed at his celestial visitor.

While still in England, at the height of his fame, Allston had conceived a design for an enormous picture of Belshazzar's Feast. Full of enthusiasm for his subject, he brought the canvas home to America in 1818, expecting to finish it in six or eight months. Some of his admirers, confident of his success, pledged themselves to purchase the finished picture, advancing a considerable sum toward the price. The responsibility and debt weighed heavily upon Allston's sensitive spirit. It seemed impossible to revive the exalted mood necessary to complete the work. In 1821, when it was supposedly finished, he saw how much better it would be with a longer perspective, and began to make it over. The years crept by, and, though thoroughly disheartened, the artist sacrificed everything else to this sole task. At length, in 1843, death interrupted this work while the picture was still in the transitional process from the old composition to the new. The unfinished canvas now hangs in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, a pathetic re-

minder of twenty-five wasted years in a singularly noble and gifted life.

Among the Americans associated with West and Allston, and like them belonging alike to England and America, were John Singleton Copley, Charles R. Leslie, and John Trumbull. All these men included among their works various Bible subjects which are now almost forgotten in comparison with their other pictures. In Copley's list — insignificant beside his fine portrait works — were the Sacrifice of Abraham, Hagar and Ishmael, Saul reproved by Samuel, the Nativity, the Tribute-Money, and the Resurrection. By Leslie, in the Lenox Gallery, New York, are the Pharisee and the Publican, Christ with the Disciples, and Martha and Mary. By Trumbull, in the Yale Art Gallery (New Haven), are Joshua at the Battle of Ai, Christ and the Adulteress, Christ blessing Little Children, and the Entombment, big pictures, dull alike in colour and sentiment.

In the period corresponding to the work of the Anglo-Americans mentioned, the "Illustrated Bible" entered upon a vogue which

lasted well into the nineteenth century. Enterprising publishers secured the services of prominent artists to furnish designs for the plates, or in some cases a single artist made the entire series of illustrations. There was Macklin's Bible, to which Copley contributed the once popular Samuel before Eli, Finden's Bible series, for which Turner made some beautiful plates (landscapes),[1] John Martin's celebrated mezzotint Illustrations of the Bible (1838), the famous Doré Bible, first published in 1865, which went through four editions, and Alexander Bida's one hundred and twenty-eight etchings accompanying "Les Saints Evangiles" (1873). The well-known Dalziel Brothers, English artist-engravers, were prominent in the mid-nineteenth-century movement toward Bible illustration. At their initiative, Millais (afterward Sir John) designed a charming series of twenty drawings for the Parables of Our Lord, working intermittently for seven years, 1857-64. At the same time they projected an elaborate illustrated Bible, for which they sought first

[1] See various references in Ruskin's "Modern Painters."

of all freshness and originality of design. The plan was never fully carried out on account of the vexatious delays and broken promises of the contributors. In 1880 — twenty-five years after the beginning of the work — the Dalziel Bible Gallery was issued, containing some sixty pictures. In the meantime several of the artists had risen from comparative obscurity to great fame, among them Sir Frederick Leighton, G. F. Watts, Holman Hunt, Ford Madox Brown, and Burne-Jones.

The names of Madox Brown and Holman Hunt bring us to the Preraphaelite movement, though the former was of it only in spirit, not actually in name. It was started in 1848 in opposition to the wearisome conventionalities of the religious painting of the day. William Blake had already dared to be original, and the young men of the "brotherhood" had a certain affinity with him. Rossetti indeed being an ardent admirer of his works. The first bond of union in the "League" was their common devotion to Giotto (see page 50). The simplicity and earnestness of the early Italians seemed to them well worth imi-

tating. They did not, however, imitate Italian designs. They took up the Bible as if they had never read it before, and interpreted it as freshly as if it had never before been illustrated. Even the old symbols were handled in a way to seem quite new. Two of Madox Brown's designs for the Dalziel Bible were repeated in paintings: Jacob with Joseph's bloody coat, and Elijah with the widow's son. For both subjects the costumes and furniture were carefully studied from Assyrian and Egyptian remains, and the landscape for the second was from a sketch made in Palestine. Besides these the painter illustrated certain subjects from the life of Christ with singular earnestness. Christ washing Peter's feet gives a new idea of that incident when our Lord performed his humble service for the most impetuous of the disciples. The Entombment is invested with an almost mystic solemnity, as the body is borne to the rock-hewn tomb, at the door of which Mary Magdalene crouches with sorrowful devotion.

In applying for the first time the methods of historical accuracy to Bible illustration,

Holman Hunt was the leader. He passed much time in Palestine, making minute studies of the scenery and of archæological data. The wild and lonely landscape of the Scapegoat is drawn direct from the land of Bible story. The subject refers to that strange Jewish ceremonial (Lev. 16:22) in which the goat as the symbolic bearer of the people's sins was sent forth to die in the wilderness. In the Finding of the Saviour in the Temple (Birmingham Gallery, England), the rabbis sit about on divans in the true Oriental manner, and one of them holds the book of the Law, rolled into long scrolls. The architectural setting, the costumes, and the distant landscape are as nearly true to fact as the painter could make them. These mechanical matters were by no means his only thought. The wistful relief of the mother, the honest delight of Joseph, and the rapt expression of the young visionary lend great dramatic interest to the central group.

In many respects the leading spirit of the Preraphaelites was Rossetti. Though he gave comparatively little attention to Bible illustra-

tion in proportion to other subjects, a few beautiful pictures must be reckoned among the great Bible works of modern times. The Annunciation of 1850 ("Ecce Ancilla Domini") was first rejected by the Royal Academy, sneered at by the conventional critics, admired by the courageous few, and finally (1886) purchased by the English National Gallery for a place of honour on its walls. The wan, dreamy face of the young girl, rising at dawn on her couch to listen to the voice in her soul, is indeed in strange contrast to the annunciate Virgin of the Renaissance, but is surely nearer the truth. The Llandaff triptych (Wales) is Rossetti's largest work. The subject is the "Seed of David," representing in the central compartment a shepherd and a king kneeling at the feet of the new-born Christ, and in the wings David, the shepherd, and David, the king.

As Madox Brown was Rossetti's teacher, so Rossetti became in turn the source of inspiration to Burne-Jones. Among the first pictures which brought this young artist into notice was the series of six panels of the Angels

of Creation, or the Six Days of Creation. The designs had originally been made for stained glass windows erected (1874) in Tamworth Church, and the same subjects were then taken up for a long period of work until at last they were exhibited in 1877. One after another appears a succession of six-winged angels, full-lipped and dreamy-eyed, their thickly clustered curls crowned with a point of flame, their long feathered pinions folded about them. Each bears a crystal globe, on whose surface the progressive changes of creation are reflected. Each, having fulfilled his office, falls into the background of the following panel. In the last composition, the angel of the Sabbath sits at the feet of the Creation group, with a harp.

The Annunciation was the subject of several pictures by Burne-Jones, the best known being the tall panel in oils, one of his finest works, owned by the Earl of Carlisle. The Virgin stands in a narrow corridor, hearing but not seeing the angelic messenger who has alighted upon a bay-tree far above her head. Another beautiful work is the great water-colour in the

Private Collection] [By Burne-Jones

ANGELS OF CREATION

(First and Sixth Days)

Birmingham Gallery, England, called the Star of Bethlehem. It is the old subject of the Adoration of Kings in a new version, the three visitors approaching reverently, almost timidly, with their gifts. The same design was woven by William Morris & Co. into a tapestry which hangs in the choir of Exeter College Chapel, Oxford. Of corresponding form and style are two other pictures of the story of Bethlehem, painted for the Church of St. Michael's at Torquay. The subjects are: The Nativity, and Angels leading a shepherd and a king to the manger.

It was in the line of window designs that most of the Preraphaelite Bible illustrations were made. Window-making was one of the several crafts converted into an art by the artist-artisan firm of William Morris & Co., an outgrowth of the Preraphaelite movement. Morris insisted above everything else that the artist's original design should be reproduced with utmost fidelity, losing no delicate nuance of colour and feeling. Rossetti, who was one of the firm, furnished a few designs, Madox Brown many more, and Burne-Jones a vast

number. Running over the list of Burne-Jones's subjects, one finds again all the familiar figures of the Bible story: Adam and Eve (many times), Abraham, Melchisedec, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Samuel, Elijah, Daniel, and the rest, besides the oft-illustrated stories of Abraham's Sacrifice, Noah's Ark, Moses at the Burning Bush, and David and Goliath. Of New Testament figures, St. Peter, St. John, and St. Paul are of course most prominent among the apostles, and some of the Christ subjects are: Christ Blessing Little Children, the Raising of Lazarus, the Crucifixion, and the Ascension.

George Frederick Watts was an English painter in whose work there is sufficient kinship with the Preraphaelite spirit to make his name fit well in this place. He painted several Bible subjects, chiefly from the Old Testament. The beautiful Eve trilogy of the Tate Gallery illustrates his feeling for the nude united with a seriousness of aim which lifts the pictures quite out of the ordinary. Eve Repentant is particularly fine in the abandon of grief expressed by the attitude, the face being

turned from the spectator. The Deluge, the Curse of Cain, and Jonah are other Old Testament titles. "For he had great possessions" is the sorrowful figure of the rich young man bidden by Christ to sell all that he had. The Good Samaritan is another Gospel subject. Somewhat overshadowed by his portraits and allegorical pictures, these works by Watts have not perhaps been fully appreciated for their vigour and elemental simplicity.

# XII

## THE BIBLE IN MODERN ART: GERMANY, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES

A FEW years before the formation of the English Preraphaelite Brotherhood, a similar movement had started in Germany, whose followers were known later as the Nazarenes. The leader was Johann Friedrich Overbeck, who, as a student in the Academy at Vienna, had become impatient of the restraints of a classical training. Like Hunt and the Rossettis, he recognized the strength and vitality of the fourteenth-century Italians, and sought inspiration from them. Like the English Preraphaelites, also, he believed in the subordination of technique to intention. In 1810 he set out for Rome with a few congenial spirits, resolved to live

in surroundings which would foster their ideals. They occupied the disused convent of S. Isidoro, living in monastic simplicity and devoting themselves wholly to sacred art. Their zeal for the early Italians amounted at last to a sort of fetichism.

Overbeck was a devout man even to pietism, with a gentle nature, small colour sense, and no dramatic insight, but with considerable skill in composition and a gift for grace and prettiness. He did not wish, or intend, to be original, but borrowed freely from Italian models, faces, figures, and motives, as they suited his themes. A fair idea of his work may be had from the set of forty engravings after his designs, illustrating the life of our Lord. They were published in Düsseldorf and Paris in 1853, and represented a period of ten years' work. Some of the subjects are in a style almost identical with the Italian, like the Annunciation and the Presentation. In painting, also, Overbeck drew many subjects from the life of Christ, adding to the list of traditional themes the modern subject, very tenderly treated, of Christ blessing Little Children.

He was rather fond of the Old Testament, according to his biographers, who describe several pictures. Ruth gleaning in the fields of Boaz contained the portrait of his betrothed wife, painted to send home to his parents in Lubeck. Other pictures were the Finding of Moses, Abraham dismissing Hagar, and the Fall of Manna.

Overbeck had in his following men whose names, once famous, are now well-nigh forgotten: Cornelius, Schadow, Veit, Schnorr, and others. In the year 1818 they undertook conjointly a series of frescoes illustrating the life of Joseph. The commission was from the Prussian consul, then in Rome, Bartholdi, and the decorations were for an upper room, twenty-four feet square, in his house on the Pincian hill. Overbeck took the first subject in order, Joseph sold by his brethren, a rather strenuous theme for his placid brush. Though lacking dramatic force, some of the separate figures are said to be graceful and beautiful. Joseph is led away by a company of merchants, while the brothers kill the ram and dip the coat in the blood. Schadow painted the scene of

the brothers bringing the coat to their father, and also Joseph in Prison. Veit painted Joseph accused by Potiphar's Wife, and Cornelius, who had the largest space, represented Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's Dream and the Recognition of Joseph by his brethren. In lunettes at the ends of the vaulted ceiling are represented symbolically the Seven Years of Famine (by Overbeck) and the Seven Years of Plenty (by Veit). Here, then, we have in the nineteenth century a genuine revival of the Florentine custom of the Quattro Cento, subject, treatment, and even the method of painting being closely imitated. The four artists worked with the same sort of unanimity which harmonized the several members of the early Italian *bottega.* Mrs. Jameson, writing of the new-old experiment in her "Sketches of Art and Travel," while deprecating the hardness of the work, praises it for the "grand style of composition."

The later development of the Nazarene movement in Germany was the Düsseldorf School, of which Schadow was the first director. The work of the school, reverent in

intention, has often degenerated to sentimentality and prettiness. Deger, Ittenbach, and Führich belonged to this school, and have produced many pictures which are very popular among those who look first for grace and sweetness rather than for strength. Carl Müller also belongs in this line, though ranking above others of his class. Professor Hofmann ranks with Müller, and is the leading German Bible illustrator of our day. Christ among the Doctors, in the Dresden Gallery, is deservedly famous as a beautiful and reverent interpretation of a theme which has seldom been attempted. Christ and the Rich Young Man is a representative example of the other Christ pictures.

Totally dissimilar in ideals and methods to the work of the Düsseldorf school is the recent movement originating in Germany, which, for lack of a better term, has been called "mystic realism." The Bible story is given a modern genre setting. The scenes of our Lord's life take place in humble homes of our own day. The surroundings are portrayed with faithful realism, but the presence of Christ among his

peasant friends, one of their own kind and still not of them, raises the subject to the level of idealism. Fritz von Uhde is the leading representative of this cult, and his pictures are exceedingly numerous. The story-telling is somewhat after this manner: In the bare room of an orphanage a stranger has entered and sits on a rush-bottomed chair. The children draw near, timidly and curiously, and one little girl, won by his gentleness, suffers him to take her hand in his (Christ blessing little children). Or another: It is sunset and a Wayfarer is seated on a bench in a field at the foot of a mountain slope. The people are passing by on their way to the distant village at the close of their day's work. The stranger is speaking, and they draw about him to listen, hanging on his words with awed attention (Sermon on the Mount). Ernst Zimmermann and E. von Gebhardt are others who have adopted a similar style; both have painted the Last Supper in this manner, as has Von Uhde himself. Zimmermann's Christ and the Fisherman is a vigorous and impressive picture of the same class. The doctrine of mystic

realism is no new thing. Tintoretto and Rembrandt, each in his own generation, set forth the same ideas long ago. The essence of the matter is that human life is the same in all ages, and that Jesus Christ is with us yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

When we turn from Germany to France, we find some interesting parallels in the modern sacred art development of the two countries. There were reactionary spirits in France, also, who, like their fellow artists in England and Germany, revolted from the cold classic standards of the early nineteenth century. One of these was Hippolyte Flandrin, who was an ardent admirer of the early Italians. He went even farther back than Overbeck in his search for motives. For the famous frieze in the Church of St. Vincent de Paul (Paris), he borrowed the idea of the procession of saints from the mosaics of S. Vitale, Ravenna. For the decorations of St. Germain des Prés, he revived the noble series of parallel subjects outlined in the "Biblia Pauperum." There are twenty of these mural paintings on each side of the nave, placed in pairs over the arches.

On the left side, as we enter, we begin with the Burning Bush and the Annunciation, and follow the story toward the altar. On the other side, returning to the entrance, is the Passion series, the Betrayal coupled with the Sale of Joseph, the Crucifixion with Abraham's Sacrifice, and the Resurrection with Jonah's Deliverance.[1] Above, on a golden ground, in imitation of the mediæval mosaics, are single figures of Old Testament characters. To complete the plan are the two great compositions of the choir, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Bearing of the Cross, with the prophets, apostles, and evangelists above the arcades.

The whole cycle carries us back to the old churches at S. Gemignagno and Assisi, where, so many centuries ago, the early fresco painters attempted with faltering brush the task here so skilfully accomplished. The French church claims great antiquity, which is a fitting reason for the choice of a mediæval art scheme. Refined and elevated one may always safely call

[1] Compare the corresponding subjects in the "Biblia Pauperum," Appendix II.

the work of Flandrin. Vigour and originality he aspired to no more than Overbeck. His office was to inform the familiar old themes with Christian sentiment, and, according to one's sympathy with this aim, his work is praised or condemned.

Another French Italianate was Ary Scheffer, who, although Dutch by birth, ranks by education and training with the schools of Paris. His best energies were given to sacred subjects, and his three greatest works were: the Temptation, Christ weeping over Jerusalem, and Christ of the Reed (Ecce Homo). In his head of Christ he sought to imitate the model of Leonardo da Vinci, and did not altogether fail of his aim.

Contemporaries of Flandrin of quite a different sort were Cabanel and Decamps, both of whom had some leaning toward Bible subjects. Several such works by Cabanel are in private collections in this country, and the Death of Moses is in the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington. By Decamps there is a series of drawings illustrating the life of Samson, which our American artist-critic, John La-

farge, has referred to as "extraordinary in scope and skilful in arrangement." Cazin is another name to mention in this place, on account of those landscapes so poetic in feeling in which he has introduced figures of Bible story. In the Hagar and Ishmael of the Luxembourg (Paris), the utter desolateness of the desert is accentuated by, but not subordinated to, the pathetic group of the weeping girl-mother and her clinging boy.

The latest contribution to French Bible illustration is the work of James Tissot, an exponent of the archæological method carried to the utmost limit. His series of over three hundred water-colours, illustrating the life of Christ, excited an immense interest upon their first appearance in the United States, and were at the same time (1897) reproduced in colour to accompany the text (English or French) of the Evangelists. This was followed (in 1904) by an Old Testament series of some three hundred and fifty pictures, which have also been reproduced to accompany the Bible text. Pulpit and press have united to praise the work as an invaluable aid to the critical study

of the Bible. Art critics are less enthusiastic, though granting decorative quality and good composition. Years of travel and study had been put into the work to make it an authoritative guide in matters of scenery, costume, and every sort of historical detail. The setting is very picturesque, with the brilliant Syrian sky, the yellow sand of the desert, or the blue sea as a background. Charming, too, are the olive groves, the walled gardens, and the paved courtyards. The interiors are furnished with rich rugs and wide divans in Oriental style. Yet all this picture-making does not make good story-telling where the figures themselves are not dramatic. Many subjects which we care for most and turn to most eagerly leave us quite cold. The pure genre studies, like the Parable of the Publican and Pharisee, and single figures of the apostles studied from the life, with brown-skinned brigands for models, are much more interesting. The life of Christ is greatly superior to the Old Testament series. The white-robed figure of the Saviour, moving through the series, gives a kind of unity and dignity

Old Testament Series] [By Tissot

ABRAHAM'S SERVANT MEETETH REBECCA

(Copyright by De Brunoff, 1904)

to the work. Both series are much too long, and lose force by the multiplication of details. Yet the very bigness of the work commands respect, and labours so conscientious and scholarly must occupy a permanent place in the history of Bible illustration.

Tissot's series are not, however, the last of the long line of Illustrated Bibles. A new work has entered the field at the beginning of the twentieth century, published in Paris, and representing international coöperation. England, France, Russia, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Spain, and Italy contributed their best artists to the score or more who furnish the one hundred drawings for the five volumes. Each has chosen his own subjects, and is seen in his characteristic style: Walter Crane, with his fanciful devices and intricate linear designs (Temptation of Eve and the Building of the Ark); Constant and Gérome, with their dramatic compositions (Crucifixion and Rizpah); Abbey, with his tragedy queens (Deborah and Judith); Tissot, with his archæological exactness (Esther and Joseph); Joseph Israels and Fritz von Uhde, with their homely sentiment;

Sir Frederick Leighton and Alma Tadema, with their classic elegance; Burne-Jones with his mysticism, Morelli with his Italian setting, and Villegas with his Spanish vigour. It is a modern realization of the mid-nineteenth-century dream of the Dalziel Brothers (page 217), with the substitution of photogravures for wood-cuts.

It is now left only to call attention to the new era of sacred art which has opened in the United States in connection with the building and beautifying of churches. It was pioneer work when, in 1876, John Lafarge went to Boston to decorate the interior of Trinity Church; the remaining quarter of a century saw an immense advance along the path then first broken. The best of Mr. Lafarge's church painting is in New York. In St. Thomas (1877) are two Easter subjects: on one side of the altar, our Lord appearing to Mary Magdalene in the garden, and on the other, the three women meeting the angel who brings them the glad tidings of the risen Lord. Next came the beautiful work in the Church of the Incarnation (1885). One panel shows

Font in Washington] [By Partridge

ST. PAUL

(By permission)

the Nativity, the Mother, half-rising from her couch, and lifting the veil from her sleeping child to gaze into his face. Angels are without, leading the shepherds to the place. The companion subject, on the other side of the altar, is the procession of Magi, led by a tall angel who points to the manger.

Best of all is the glorious Ascension in the church of that name (1887). The composition fills the large arched wall space above the altar. A wide mountain landscape stretches before us, with purple mists filling the valley and veiling the distant peaks. The disciples stand together gazing into the heavens after their vanishing Saviour, who soars far above them in the upper air. A company of angels, row upon row, form two wide curves encircling the Saviour. The divine figure is beautiful and gracious, as it should be, free from any exaggeration in pose or gesture, altogether fine and dignified. The noble reaches of landscape, the exquisite violet and rose of the colour scheme, the entire simplicity of the composition, place this work above com-

parison with any other Biblical decoration ever attempted in this country.

Again was Lafarge a pioneer as a designer and inventor in the making of stained glass windows, producing opalescent effects, before unknown, though now widely imitated. It would be impossible in this place to enumerate the beautiful Biblical windows which he has produced. Whatever his colour medium, the religious spirit of his Biblical subjects is as simple and spontaneous as that of an Italian primitive.

Besides having mural paintings and stained glass windows, our American churches are beautified with various forms of sculptured decoration, — the reredos, the screen, the font, and even the bronze door. The noble doors of Trinity and St. Bartholomew's, New York, are ornamented with storied reliefs, after the manner of the famous gates of the Florentine Baptistery.

The elaborate sculptured font of the Washington Cathedral by William Ordway Partridge recalls the decorative methods of the Pisani.

Public Library, Boston] [By Sargent

THE PROPHETS AMOS, NAHUM, EZEKIEL, AND DANIEL

It is not inappropriate to classify with church decorations the religious cycle forming the subject of Sargent's mural paintings in the Boston Public Library. At opposite ends of a long hall are symbolic compositions representing respectively Ancient Religions and Christianity, while the connecting wall space will some day be filled with scenes from the life of our Lord. The frieze running below the lunette of Ancient Religions consists of a series of Hebrew prophets. The central entablature contains Moses with the tables of the law, supported on his right by Elijah, and on his left by Joshua. On either side, in groups of four, are sixteen other prophets. The general aspect of the line at Elijah's right (the spectator's left) is sorrowful. Joel turns his face away and covers his head with his mantle before "the great and terrible day of the Lord." Obadiah sinks on the ground, with head clasped in his hands. On the other side, however, all is joyful anticipation. Isaiah raises both hands in an ecstasy of recognition; Haggai and Malachi point eagerly down the vista of the hall to the Redemption depicted

at the opposite end. With many admirable qualities, the commonplaceness of the model is still rather too obvious, and the posing seems overdone, compared with the magnificent unconsciousness of Michelangelo's prophets. This, however, is not out of keeping with the Oriental feeling which pervades the work, and one must acknowledge that here is a valuable new set of Bible figures.

Our story ends at this point, when the prophets of the new century are predicting a great future for American art. If their hopes are in any measure fulfilled, church decoration will come in for a large share of attention, and this in turn will involve a new chapter in the story of Bible illustration.

# APPENDICES

# APPENDICES

## I

## SOME FAMOUS LATIN HYMNS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

### STABAT MATER DOLOROSA

*By Jacoponus (Giacopone da Todi)*

(THIRTEENTH CENTURY)

By the cross, sad vigil keeping,
Stood the mournful Mother weeping,
While on it the Saviour hung;
In that hour of deep distress,
Pierced the sword of bitterness
Through her heart with sorrow wrung.

Oh, how sad, how woebegone
Was that ever-blessed one,

Mother of the Son of God.
Oh, what bitter tears she shed
Whilst before her Jesus bled
'Neath the Father's penal rod.

Who's the man could view unmoved
Christ's sweet Mother whom he loved
In such dire extremity?
Who his pitying tears withhold
Christ's sweet Mother to behold
Sharing in his agony?

For the Father's broken law,
Mary thus the Saviour saw
Sport of human cruelties —
Saw her sweet, her only Son,
God-forsaken and undone,
Die, a sinless sacrifice.

Mary, Mother, fount of love,
Make me share thy sorrow, move
All my soul to sympathy.
Make my heart within me glow
With the love of Jesus — so
Shall I find acceptancy.

Print, O Mother, on my heart
Deeply print the wounds, the smart

Of my Saviour's chastisement;
He who to redeem my loss,
Deigned to bleed upon the cross —
Make me share his punishment.

Ever with thee at thy side,
'Neath the Christ, the crucified,
Mournful Mother, let me be.
By the cross sad vigil keeping,
Ever watchful, ever weeping,
Thy companion constantly.

Maid of maidens undefiled,
Mother gracious, Mother mild,
Melt my heart to weep with thee.
Crown me with Christ's thorny wreath,
Make me consort of his death,
Sharer of his victory.

Never from the mingled tide
Flowing still from Jesus' side,
May my lips inebriate turn;
And when in the day of doom
Lightning-like he rends the tomb,
Shield, oh, shield me, lest I burn.

So the shadow of the tree
Where thy Jesus bled for me

Still shall be my fortalice;
So when flesh and spirit sever
Shall I live, thy boon, for ever
In the joys of Paradise.

— *Translated by Lord Lindsay.*

## STABAT MATER SPECIOSA

*Attributed to Jacoponus, the author of Stabat Mater Dolorosa, but discredited by some scholars on account of the imperfect Latin. It is included here because it is an admirable word-picture of the typical Nativity composition.*

Full of beauty stood the Mother
By the manger blest o'er other,
Where the Little One she lays;
For her inmost soul's elation,
In its fervid jubilation,
Thrills with ecstasy of praise.

O what glad, what rapturous feeling
Filled that blessed Mother, kneeling
By the Sole-Begotten One!
How, her heart with laughter bounding,
She beheld the work astounding,
Saw his birth, the glorious Son.

Who is he, that sight who beareth,
Nor Christ's Mother's solace shareth
In her bosom as he lay:
Who is he, that would not render
Tend'rest love for love so tender,
Love, with that dear Babe at play?

For the trespass of her nation
She with oxen saw his station
Subjected to cold and woe:
Saw her sweetest Offspring's wailing,
Wise men him with worship hailing,
In the stable, mean and low.

Jesus lying in the manger,
Heavenly armies sang the Stranger,
In the great joy bearing part;
Stood the Old Man with the Maiden,
No words speaking, only laden
With this wonder in their heart.

Mother, fount of love still flowing,
Let me, with thy rapture glowing,
Learn to sympathize with thee.
Let me raise my heart's devotion,
Up to Christ with pure emotion,
That accepted I may be.

Mother, let me win this blessing,
Let his sorrow's deep impressing
In my heart engraved remain:
Since thy Son, from heaven descending,
Deigned to bear the manger's lending,
O divide with me this pain.

Keep my heart its gladness bringing,
To my Jesus ever clinging,
Long as this my life shall last;
Love like that thine own love, give it,
On my little Child to rivet,
Till this exile shall be past.
Let me share thine own affliction,
Let me suffer no rejection
Of my purpose fixed and fast.

Virgin, peerless of condition,
Be not wroth with my petition.
Let me clasp thy little Son:
Let me bear that Child so glorious,
Him, whose birth, o'er death victorious,
Will'd that life for man was won.

Let me, satiate with my pleasure,
Feel the rapture of thy treasure
Leaping for that joy intense;

That, inflam'd by such communion,
Through the marvel of that union,
I may thrill in every sense.

All that love this stable truly,
And the shepherds watching duly,
Tarry there the livelong night;
Pray that by thy Son's dear merit,
His elected may inherit
Their own country's endless light.

— *Translated by Doctor Neale.*

## DIES IRÆ

*By Thomas of Celano*

(1250)

Day of vengeance without morrow,
Earth shall end in flame and sorrow,
As from saint and seer we borrow.

Ah! what terror is impending,
When the judge is seen descending,
And each secret veil is rending.

To the throne the trumpet sounding
Through the sepulchres resounding,
Summons all with voice astounding.

Death and nature, mazed are quaking
When the graves' long slumber breaking,
Man to judgment is awaking.

On the written volume's pages
Life is shown in all its stages —
Judgment record of past ages.

Sits the Judge, the raised arraigning,
Darkest mysteries explaining,
Nothing unavenged remaining.

What shall I then say, unfriended,
By no advocate attended,
When the just are scarce defended?

King of majesty tremendous,
By thy saving grace defend us,
Fount of pity, safety send us.

Holy Jesus, meek, forbearing,
For my sins the death crown wearing,
Save me in that day, despairing.

Worn and weary thou hast sought me;
By thy cross and passion bought me —
Spare the hope thy labours brought me.

Righteous judge of retribution,
Give, O give me absolution,
Ere the day of dissolution.

As a guilty culprit groaning,
Flushed my face, my errors owning,
Hear, O God, my spirit's moaning.

Thou to Mary gav'st remission,
Heard'st the dying thief's petition,
Bad'st me hope in my contrition.

In my prayers no grace discerning,
Yet on me thy favour turning,
Save my soul from endless burning.

Give me when thy sheep confiding
Thou art from the goats dividing
On thy right a place abiding.

When the wicked are confounded,
And by bitter flames surrounded,
Be my joyful pardon sounded.

Prostrate, all my guilt discerning,
Heart as though to ashes turning;
Save, O save me from the burning.

Day of weeping, when from ashes,
Man shall rise 'mid lightning flashes,
Guilty, trembling with contrition,
Save him, Father, from perdition.

— *Translated by Gen. John A. Dix.*

## APPAREBIT REPENTINA DIES MAGNA DOMINI[1]

(SEVENTH CENTURY)

Stealthy as a thief approaching, midst the darkness of the night,
So the Lord's great day shall waken, sudden, all the world with fright;
Then how vain shall seem their treasures,
Brief the sum of worldly pleasures,
When the worlds shall pass from sight.

Through the earth's remotest confines, loud the trumpet's voice shall sound,
Dead and living, all shall hear it, all to meet their Lord be found;
Him the Judge who cometh glorious,
Christ from heaven, the King victorious,
With his shining angels round.

[1] Compare with the "Dies Iræ" and with the directions for the Last Judgment in the "Byzantine Guide to Painting."

Then the moon's pale orb shall redden — o'er the
sun shall spread a pall;
Earth through all her circuit tremble — faded, dim
the stars shall fall;
Flames with fearful beauty glowing,
Earth and sea and sky o'erflowing,
Run before the Judge of all:

Round that just Dispenser's footstool angel hosts
with awe shall stand,
On the right, God's faithful servants, on the left,
the evil band;
Then the silence shall be broken,
Then the King's great doom be spoken
To the souls on either hand.

"Come, ye blessed of my Father," to the just their
Lord shall say,
"Take the Kingdom he prepared you ere the worlds
beheld the day;
Me, when poor and sick ye tended,
Me with loving care defended,
This your love I now repay."

"When, O Christ, did we behold thee?" joyful will
their answer be;
"When thy sorrows have we pitied, fed and clothed
thy poverty?"

Softly then shall fall his accents,
"For ye did it to my servants,
Ye have done it unto me."

Next their sentence to the wicked shall the righteous
Judge declare,
"Hence ye cursed from my presence, in the pains
of hell to share;
Vainly for your help I pleaded,
Naught my prayers or tears ye heeded,
For your suffering Lord to care."

"When, great King, did we reject thee?" Such will
be their bitter cry;
"Or thy needs refuse to succour?" Then shall
come the stern reply,
"When the poor for help was crying,
Ye, my messenger denying,
Did unto myself deny."

Headlong then shall fall the wicked down to realms
of guilt and shame,
Where for Satan and his servants is their prison-
house of flame;
Anguish there and grief and wailing,
Sorrows endless, unavailing,
Woe for evermore the same.

But the faithful shall be raised up to Zion's peaceful
height,
Angel choirs rejoicing round them, they to heaven
shall wing their flight,
Sights of glory there to meet them,
Christ himself their Lord to greet them,
Shining in the Father's light.

Wouldst thou gain the heavenly kingdom? then of
Satan's toils beware;
Watch lest gold or lust entice thee, — be the helpless
ones thy care; —
Though thy Master, Christ, should tarry,
Still thy warfare's weapons carry,
For his coming aye prepare.

— *Translated by D. T. Morgan.*

## ZYMA VETUS EXPURGETUR[1]

AN EASTER HYMN

*By Adam of St. Victor (Paris)*

(TWELFTH CENTURY)

Purge the old leaven all away,
No malice in our hearts must stay

[1] It is interesting to compare this enumeration of Old Testament types with the collocations of the "Biblia Pauperum."

While on the resurrection day
  We keep the festival;
This day which crowns our utmost hope,
Of wondrous power, of endless scope,
  As law and prophet tell.

See Israel bound by Pharaoh's law
To tasks of mortar, brick and straw,
  Pursue the bitter toil;
This day their slavish labour ends,
Forth from the iron furnace sends, —
  Gives Egypt for their spoil.

Now to the King of heavenly might,
Who makes us triumph in the fight,
  Pour forth the grateful strain,
This is the day the Lord hath made,
Our sin-afflicted souls to aid, —
  To cure our mortal pain.

The law its onward shadow throws,
In Christ the lines of promise close,
  And full completion see,
Christ's precious blood so freely pour'd, —
Quench'd with its stream the flaming sword
  To give us Eden free.

Type of our joy on earth begun,
  Of our eternal gain, —

To joyful Sara came her son, —
In whom Messiah's line should run, —
  For whom the ram was slain;
As Joseph issued from the well,
So Christ Our Lord was raised from hell
  Thenceforth with might to reign.

See Aaron's wondrous rod devour
  The serpents' magic pride,
So Christ o'ercame the serpent's power,
  His evil spells defied; —
When 'neath the serpents' fiery breath
Rebellious Israel tasted death,
  What arm could soothe their grief?
Their Saviour's token hung on high,
The brazen serpent 'gainst the sky
  Shone forth to bring relief.

Christ's hook is in the dragon's jaw, —
Bridled by Christ the ravening maw
  Which wide as hell did gape, —
Within the basilisk's fell shade
The weaned child his hand has laid,
Thence flies our ancient foe dismay'd,
  His conqueror Christ to 'scape.

Upon the mount by Bethel's path
The scorners felt Elisha's wrath,

So on her awful day,
Jerusalem, whose bitter scorn
On Calvary her Lord had borne,
Now by remorseless eagles torn,
With her slain children lay; —
David from Achish' presence hies,
A madman held to be, —
The scapegoat to the desert flies, —
And bird for cleansing sacrifice, —
So Christ to make us free.

Samson a Gentile wife has ta'en,
And Philistines, a thousand, slain, —
God's scourge on Israel's foe; —
Rising, he breaks the locks of brass,
And Gaza's gates, a pond'rous mass,
Bears to the mountain's brow:

So Christ, our Judah's lion, broke
The gates of death with mighty stroke,
And the third day he rose,
Call'd by his Father to the sky,
He bore his glorious spoils on high,
And there the trophy shows.

Jonah, three days 'midst darkness bound,
Escaped from realms of night,
Type of his Lord, in hell profound,

Who forth from out the darksome ground
  Was rendered to the light; —
Now buds again the cypress-vine,
Afresh with glowing fruit to shine,
As Christ return'd with power divine,
  Fruits of his death to bring, —
The fading synagogue decays,
The Church in fullest glory stays
  To bloom in endless spring.

So life and death in conflict strove,
And Christ, indeed, to heaven above
  Arose right gloriously,
While who witness of his love,
  Rose with their Lord on high:
Then let this morn with joyful light
Our evening's sorrow put to flight,
For Christ, our life, has fought the fight,
  Has gain'd us victory.

Victorious Lord, to thee we pray,
Jesu, the life, the truth, the way,
Who died, the rage of death to stay,
Let us thy Paschal joys to-day
  With trusting hearts embrace;
Thou, living bread, thou, living stream,
True vine, that dost with richness teem,

So feed us with thy grace,
That through those cleansing waters pure,
We from the second death secure,
In heaven may see thy face.

Amen.

—*Translated by D. T. Morgan.*

## II

## OUTLINE OF SUBJECTS IN THE "BIBLIA PAUPERUM"[1]

### I

(*a*) Eve tempted by the serpent. — Gen. 3 : 1-7.

(*b*) The Annunciation. — Luke 1 : 26-38.

(*c*) Gideon and the fleece. — Judges 6 : 36-40.

Prophets: Isaiah 7 : 14, Ezekiel 44 : 2; David, Ps. 133 : 3, Jeremiah 21 : 22.

### II

(*a*) Moses and the burning bush. — Ex. 3 : 1-7.

(*b*) The Nativity. — Luke 2 : 1-7.

(*c*) Aaron's rod budding. — Numbers 17 : 8.

Prophets: Daniel 2 : 34-35, Habakkuk 3 : 2; Isaiah 9 : 6, Micah 5 : 2.

[1] In the illustrative scheme of the "Biblia Pauperum" the subject (*b*) occupied the centre, with subject (*a*) on the right (or spectator's left), and subject (*c*) on the left; the first two prophets above; the other two below. The prophetic passages were inscribed on scrolls.

III

(*a*) Abner visiting David at Hebron. — 2 Sam. 3:20.

(*b*) The Adoration of the Magi. — Matt. 2:7-12.

(*c*) The Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon. — 1 Kings 10:1-14.

Prophets: Ps. 72:10, Isaiah 2:2; Isaiah 60:14, Numbers 24:17.

IV

(*a*) The presentation of the first-born in the temple. — Lev. 12:6.

(*b*) The Purification. — Luke 2:22-24.

(*c*) The mother of Samuel dedicating her son to the service of the temple. — 1 Sam. 1:24-28.

Prophets: Ps. 11:4, Zechariah 2:10; Malachi 3:1, Zephaniah 3:15.

V

(*a*) Rebecca sending her son Jacob to Laban. — Gen. 27:43-46.

(*b*) The Flight into Egypt. — Matt. 2:13.

(*c*) Michal assisting David to descend from the window. — 1 Sam. 19:12.

Prophets: Isaiah 19:1, Jeremiah 12:7; David, Ps. 55:7, Hosea 5:6.

VI

(*a*) The adoration of the golden calf. — Ex. 32:2-6.

(*b*) The Holy Family in Egypt and the Destruction of Idols. — Matt. 2:14-15.

(*c*) Dagon falling to the ground before the ark. 1 Sam. 5:3-4.

Prophets: Hosea 10:2, Zechariah 13:2; Nahum 1:14, Zephaniah 2:11.

VII

(*a*) Saul causing Abimelech and all the priests to be beheaded. — 1 Sam. 22:16-19.

(*b*) The Murder of the Innocents. — Matt. 2:16-18.

(*c*) The murder of the king's sons by Athaliah. — 2 Kings 11:1.

Prophets: David, Ps. 70:10, Jeremiah 31:15; Prov. 28:15, Hosea 8:4.

VIII

(*a*) David directed by the Lord to return to the land of Judah. — 2 Sam. 2:1.

(*b*) The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt. — Matt. 2:19-21.

(*c*) The return of Jacob to his own country. — Gen. 31:17.

Prophets: Ps. 106:4, Hosea 11:1; Hosea (passage unidentified), Zechariah 1:16.

IX

(*a*) The passage of the Red Sea. — Ex. 14 : 21-23.

(*b*) The Baptism of Christ. — Matt. 3 : 13-17.

(*c*) The spies bringing the bunch of grapes. — Numbers 13 : 23.

Prophets: Isaiah 12 : 3, Ezekiel 36 : 25; David, Ps. 68 : 26, Zechariah 13 : 1.

X

(*a*) Esau selling his birthright. — Gen. 25 : 29-34.

(*b*) The Temptation of Christ. — Matt. 4 : 1-11.

(*c*) The fall of Adam and Eve. — Gen. 3 : 6.

Prophets: Ps. 35 : 16, 2 Sam. 7 : 9; Isaiah 29 : 16, Job 16 : 9-10.

XI

(*a*) Elijah and the widow's son. — 1 Kings 17 : 19.

(*b*) The Resurrection of Lazarus.—John 11 : 1-44.

(*c*) The widow's son restored by Elijah. — 1 Kings 17 : 21-22.

Prophets: Deut. 32 : 39, Job 14 : 14; Psalm 33 : 19, 1 Sam. 2 : 6.

XII

(*a*) Abraham and the three angels. — Gen. 18 : 1-16.

(*b*) The Transfiguration. — Luke 9 : 28-35.

(*c*) The three Israelites in the fiery furnace. — Daniel 3:20.

Prophets: Ps. 45:2, Malachi 4:2; Isaiah 60:1, Habakkuk 3:4.

XIII

(*a*) Nathan reproving David. — 2 Sam. 12:7.

(*b*) The Woman at the Feet of Jesus. — Luke 7:36-50.

(*c*) Miriam cleansed of leprosy. — Numbers 12:10-15.

Prophets: Ezekiel 18:22, Zechariah 1:3; Ps. 51:17, 2 Sam. 7:22.

XIV

(*a*) The triumph of David. — 1 Sam. 17:51.

(*b*) The Entry into Jerusalem. — Matt. 21:1-11.

(*c*) The sons of the prophets meeting Elisha. — 2 Kings 2:15.

Prophets: Psalm 149:2, Zechariah 9:9 (first part); The Song of Solomon 3:11, Zechariah 9:9 (last part).

XV

(*a*) Esdras directed by Darius to rebuild the temple. — 1 Esdras 4 (Apocrypha).

(*b*) Christ Cleansing the Temple. — Matthew 21:12-13.

(*c*) Judas Maccabeus ordering the purification of the temple. — Macc. 4 (Apocrypha).

Prophets: Hosea 9:15, Amos 5:10; Ps. 69:9, Zechariah 14:21.

XVI

(*a*) Joseph sold by his brethren. — Gen. 37:20-27.

(*b*) Judas Plotting Christ's Betrayal. — Matt. 26:14-16.

(*c*) Absalom conspiring against his father David. — 2 Sam. 15:10-12.

Prophets: Gen. 49:6, Prov. 21:30; Ps. 31:13, Jer. 11:19.

XVII

(*a*) Joseph sold to the Ishmaelites. — Gen. 37:28.

(*b*) Judas Receiving the Thirty Pieces of Silver.

(*c*) Joseph sold to Potiphar. — Gen. 37:36.

Prophets: Ps. 109:8, Haggai 1:6; Prov. 16:30, Zech. 11:12.

XVIII

(*a*) Melchisedec meeting Abraham with bread and wine. — Gen. 14:18-19.

(*b*) The Last Supper. — Matt. 26:20-29.

(*c*) The fall of manna. — Ex. 16:14-21.

Prophets: Ps. 78:25, Isaiah 55:2; Prov. 9:5, Wisdom of Solomon 6:20 (Apocrypha).

XIX

(*a*) Micaiah's true prophecy of Ahab's death, and his punishment with the "bread of affliction." — 1 Kings 22: 8-9, 15-18, 26-27.

(*b*) Christ's Farewell to His Disciples at Gethsemane, as He Goes to His Passion. — John 14: 31-18: 1.

(*c*) Elisha's prophecy discredited and fulfilled. — 2 Kings 7: 1-2, 18-20.

Prophets: Micah 2: 10, Jonah 4: 3; Baruch 4: 25 (Apocrypha), Tobias 12: 20 (Apocrypha).

XX

(*a*) The fate of the five foolish virgins. — Matt. 25: 2-3.

(*b*) The Soldiers Falling to the Ground as They Take Christ Captive. — John 18: 6.

(*c*) The fall of the angels. — 2 Peter 2: 4.

Prophets: Lamentations 2: 16, Jer. 14: 3; Is. 53: 2-3, Baruch 6: 27 (Apocrypha).

XXI

(*a*) Abner treacherously killed by Joab. — 2 Sam. 3: 27.

(*b*) Judas Betraying Christ with a Kiss. — Matt. 26: 48-49.

(*c*) Tryphon's treacherous manner of taking Jonathan captive. — 1 Maccabees 13: 12-23 (Apocrypha).

Prophets: Psalm 41:9, Isaiah 3:11; Prov. 17:20, Jer. 9:8.

XXII

(*a*) Jezebel seeking the death of Elijah. — 1 Kings 19:1-2.

(*b*) Pilate Washing His Hands. — Matt. 27:24.

(*c*) Daniel accused by the Babylonians. — Daniel 6:4-9.

Prophets: Isaiah 5:20, Job 36:17; Ps. 1:5, Amos 5:7.

XXIII

(*a*) Ham uncovering the nakedness of his father. — Gen. 9:22.

(*b*) Christ Crowned with Thorns. — Mark 15:15-19.

(*c*) Elisha mocked by the children. — 2 Kings 2:23-24.

Prophets: Ps. 22:7, Lamentations 3:14; Prov. 19:29, Isaiah 37:23.

XXIV

(*a*) Isaac carrying the wood for his own sacrifice. — Gen. 22:6.

(*b*) Christ Bearing the Cross. — John 19:17.

(*c*) The widow of Sarepta gathering two sticks of wood. — 1 Kings 19:12.

Prophets: Isaiah 53:7, Psalms (passage unidentified); Jer. 11:19 (last part), Jer. 11:19 (first part).

XXV

(*a*) The sacrifice of Abraham. — Gen. 22:9-10.

(*b*) The Crucifixion. — Matt. 27:35-42.

(*c*) Moses and the brazen serpent. — Numbers 21:9.

Prophets: Ps. 22:16, Job 41:1; Isaiah 53:7, Habakkuk 3:4.

XXVI

(*a*) The creation of Eve from Adam's side. — Gen. 2:21-22.

(*b*) The Soldier Piercing the Side of the Crucified Christ. — John 19:34.

(*c*) Moses striking the rock. — Numbers 20:11.

Prophets: Psalm 69:26, Lamentations 1:12; Zechariah 13:6, Amos 8:9.

XXVII

(*a*) Joseph let down into the well. — Gen. 37:20.

(*b*) The Entombment of Christ.—John 19:41-42.

(*c*) Jonah swallowed by the great fish. — Jonah 1:17.

Prophets: Psalm 78:65, Isaiah 11:10; The Song of Solomon 5:2, Gen. 49:9.

XXVIII

(*a*) David cutting off the head of Goliath. — 1 Sam. 13:51.

(*b*) Christ's Descent into Hell. — 1 Pet. 3:19.

(*c*) Samson killing the lion. — Judges 14:5-6.

Prophets: Psalm 107:16, Zechariah 9:11; Hosea 13:14, Gen. 49:9.

XXIX

(*a*) Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza. — Judges 16:3.

(*b*) The Resurrection. — Matt. 28:2-4.

(*c*) Jonah cast by the fish upon the dry land. — Jonah 2:10.

Prophets: Psalm 78:65, Hosea 6:2-3; Gen. 49:9, Zephaniah 3:8.

XXX

(*a*) Reuben searching for Joseph in the well. — Gen. 37:29-30.

(*b*) The Women at the Tomb. — Mark 16:1-6.

(*c*) The daughter of Zion seeking her spouse. — The Song of Solomon 3:2.

Prophets: Isaiah 55:6, Micah 7:7; Psalm 105:3, Gen. 49:18.

XXXI

(*a*) The King of Babylon rejoicing to find Daniel alive. — Daniel 16:23.

(*b*) Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalene in the Garden. — John 20:11-17.

(*c*) The daughter of Zion discovering her spouse. — The Song of Solomon 3:4.

Prophets: Psalm 9:10, Isaiah 61:10; 1 Sam. 2:1, Hosea 2:14.

XXXII

(*a*) Joseph making himself known to his brethren. — Gen. 45:3.

(*b*) Christ Appearing to His Disciples. — Mark 16:14-18.

(*c*) The return of the prodigal son.—Luke 15:20.

Prophets: Psalm 16:11, Isaiah 51:1; Wisdom of Solomon 1:2 (Apocrypha), Ezekiel 34:11.

XXXIII

(*a*) The angel appearing to Gideon. — Judges 6:11-12.

(*b*) The Incredulity of Thomas.—John 20:26-29.

(*c*) Jacob wrestling with the angel. — Gen. 32:24-30.

Prophets: Isaiah 57:18, Psalm (passage unidentified); Jer. 31:18, Zeph. 3:7.

XXXIV

(*a*) Enoch taken up into heaven. — Gen. 5:24.

(*b*) The Ascension. — Acts 1:9-11.

(*c*) Elijah taken up into heaven. — 2 Kings 2:11.

Prophets: Psalm 45:5, Deut. 33:11; Isaiah 63:1, Micah 2:13.

XXXV

(*a*) Moses receiving the tables of the law. — Exodus 31-18.

(*b*) The Descent of the Holy Spirit. — Acts 2:1-4.

(*c*) Elijah's sacrifice consumed by fire from heaven. — 1 Kings 18:38.

Prophets: Psalm 104:30, Ezekiel 36:27; Wisdom of Solomon 1:7 (Apocrypha), Joel 2:29.

XXXVI

(*a*) Solomon causing his mother to sit by his side. — 1 Kings 2:19.

(*b*) The Coronation of the Virgin.

(*c*) Esther before Ahasuerus. — Esther 5:2-3.

Prophets: Psalm (passage unidentified), Isaiah

35:2; The Song of Solomon 8:5, Wisdom of Solomon (passage unidentified, Apocrypha).

XXXVII

(*a*) The judgment of Solomon. — 1 Kings 3:16-28.

(*b*) The Last Judgment. — Rev. 20:12.

(*c*) The Amalekite who slew Saul killed by David's order. — 2 Kings 1:13-16.

Prophets: Ecclesiastes 3:17, Isaiah 2:4; 1 Sam. 2:10, Ezekiel 7:3.

XXXVIII

(*a*) The destruction of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. — Numbers 16:31-35.

(*b*) Hell.

(*c*) The destruction of Sodom. — Gen. 19:24-25.

Prophets: Wisdom of Solomon 18:11 (Apocrypha), Jer. 25:10; Psalm 75:8, Job (passage unidentified).

XXXIX

(*a*) The feast of Job's children. — Job 1:4-5.

(*b*) Christ with the Blessed.

(*c*) Jacob's Dream. — Gen. 28:12.

Prophets: Psalm 33:1, Joshua 1:3; Tobias 11:9 (Apocrypha), Isaiah 66:10.

XL

(*a*) The daughter of Zion crowned by her spouse. — The Song of Solomon 3 : 11.

(*b*) The Reward of the Righteous.

(*c*) The vision of St. John. — Rev. 21 : 9.

Prophets: Psalm 19 : 5, Ezekiel 24 : 17; Isaiah 61 : 10, Hosea 2 : 9.

## III

## SELECTIONS FROM THE "BYZANTINE GUIDE TO PAINTING"[1]

### HOW THE WONDERS OF THE ANCIENT LAW ARE REPRESENTED

#### *Fall of Adam and Eve*

Paradise with various trees and little flowers. Adam and Eve, naked. Before them a great tree like a fig-tree, covered with fruit; a serpent entwined around it, with head turned toward Eve. Eve gathers the fruit with one hand, and with the other offers it to Adam, who accepts it.

#### *Melchisedec Comes before Abraham*

The righteous Melchisedec, arrayed in a sacerdotal vestment, holds plates containing three loaves and a flask of wine; Abraham, dressed as a warrior, stands before him, with Lot. Other soldiers, horses and oxen.

[1] The selections from this section are to set forth the subjects having special symbolic significance in the "Biblia Pauperum."

### *Sacrifice of Abraham*

Abraham, on the summit of a mountain, ties his young son Isaac on the wood; he holds the sacrificial knife. Above, an angel points to the lamb caught in the bush by the horns, and says to him: "Abraham, Abraham, lay not thine hand upon thy child." At the foot of the mountain two youths hold an ass harnessed.

### *Joseph Sold by His Brothers to the Ishmaelites*

A pit; inside of it the beardless Joseph. Two of his brothers hold him by the arms and lift him up out of the pit. The other brothers and the sheep stand close by. The Ishmaelites, with the camels, count out money on a stone, which the others take.

### *Moses Receiving the Law*

A high mountain. On the summit Moses, on his knees, holds the tables of the law. Above, many clouds, fire, and lightnings. Angels blowing the trumpet. Lower down upon the mountain, Moses is seen breaking the tables of the law. At the foot of the mountain, the Hebrews feast and dance. In their midst a lofty column supports the golden calf. Aaron stands apart in sorrow.

*Moses, Having Struck the Rock Angrily, Makes the Water Gush Forth*

Moses, standing up, strikes the stone with his rod. The water gushes forth; the children draw it in vases. A crowd of Hebrews, men and women, near Moses. At the top of the rock we read these words: "The waters of strife."

*David Slays Goliath*

David, beardless, having a sling hung from his belt and a pouch on his right shoulder. He holds a head in his left hand and a sword in the right. Before him, the headless body of his enemy Goliath lies on the ground in armour. Further on, the Hebrews pursuing their enemies; at a still greater distance, choirs of maidens with harps and dulcimers.

*Elijah Asleep under a Tree. An Angel Awakens Him and Commands Him to Eat*

A great tree. Under it, Elijah sleeping; near his head a cake and cruse. An angel comes to touch him by the hand.

*The Prophet Jonah, Flying before the Face of the Lord, Is Thrown into the Sea*

A furious sea; enormous waves. In the midst, a ship, and sailors throwing Jonah head foremost into

the sea. A monstrous fish receives the prophet in his jaws.

### *Jonah Delivered Up by the Fish on the Bank Near Nineveh*

A town; the sea below. A sea-monster casts Jonah on the bank. Jonah holds a scroll, on which is written: "I cried out of my affliction to the Lord."

### *Job Sits among the Ashes*

A city. Outside, Job, covered with sores, stretched on a heap of ashes; at his side stand three kings, who speak to him. His wife says to him, "Curse God and die." Job looks at her with an angered face, and says to her: "Why hast thou spoken as a foolish woman? We have received good at the hands of God, why should we not also receive evil? It is the Lord's will that hath happened. Blessed be the name of the Lord."

### *The Tree of Jesse*

The righteous Jesse sleeps. Out of the lower part of his breast spring three branches; the two smaller ones surround him, the third and larger one rises erect and entwines round the figures of Hebrew kings from David to Christ. The first is David; he holds

a harp. Then comes Solomon, and, after him, the other kings, following in their order and holding sceptres. At the top of the stem, the birth of Christ. On each side, in the midst of the branches, are the prophets with their prophetic scrolls; they point out Christ, and gaze upon him. Below the prophets, the sages of Greece and the soothsayer Balaam, each holding their scrolls. They look upwards and point toward the Nativity of Christ.

## HOW TO REPRESENT THE FESTIVALS OF THE LORD, AND THE OTHER WORKS AND MIRACLES OF CHRIST, ACCORDING TO THE HOLY GOSPEL.[1]

### *The Annunciation of the Mother of God*

Houses. The Holy Virgin standing before a seat, her head a little bent. In her left hand she holds a spindle with silk rolled on it; her right hand is stretched out open toward the archangel. St. Michael is before her; he salutes her with the right hand, and holds a baton (long as a lance) in his left. The sky above the house. The Holy Spirit descends from it upon a ray which reaches to the Virgin's head.

[1] The selections from this section represent the subjects which became permanent in the Christ art of the following centuries.

### *The Nativity of Christ*

A grotto. Within, upon the right, the Virgin kneeling; she lays Christ, an infant in swaddling clothes, in a cradle. To the left Joseph upon his knees, his hands crossed upon his breast. Behind the cradle, an ox and ass are watching Christ. Behind Joseph, Christ and the Holy Virgin, the shepherds, each holding his staff, watch with astonishment. Outside the cave, sheep and shepherds; one of them playing on a flute, the others look upwards in fear. Above them an angel blessing them. On the other side, the Magi, on horseback and in regal robes, point to the star. Above the grotto a multitude of angels in the clouds carrying a roll with these words: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men." A great ray of light descends upon Christ's head.

### *Adoration of the Magi*

A house. The Holy Virgin seated, holding the infant Christ, who blesses. Before her, the Magi present their gifts in golden shrines. One of the kings, an old man with a great beard, and head uncovered, kneels and gazes on Christ; with one hand he proffers him his gift, with the other holds his crown. The second has very little beard, the third none at all. They look at one another and point to

Christ. Joseph stands in wonder behind the Holy Virgin. Outside the grotto, a youth holds the three horses by the bridle. In the background, the three Magi are again seen returning to their country; an angel goes before to show the way.

### *Baptism of Christ*

Christ standing naked in the midst of the Jordan. The Harbinger, on the river-bank to the right of Christ, looks upward; his right hand rests upon the head of Christ, he raises the left toward heaven. Above, the sky is seen, whence issues the Holy Spirit, descending on a ray which rests upon the head of Christ. In the midst of the ray we read the words, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." On the left, angels stand in reverence with arms outspread. Clothes lie on the ground. Below the Harbinger, and across the Jordan, a naked man reclines who looks behind him at Christ as if in terror.[1] He holds a vase, whence he pours water. Fish surround Christ.

### *Christ Tempted by the Devil*

The desert and trees. Christ standing, and the devil, showing him some stones, says to him: "If

[1] Personification of the river god.

thou art the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread." Christ answers upon a scroll: "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." Near that a very high mountain, Christ upon the summit, and the devil standing before him, showing him all the kingdoms of the world, and saying: "All these things will I give, if you fall at my feet and worship me." Christ says to him upon a scroll: "Get thee behind me, Satan; for it is written, You shall worship the Lord your God." At the base of the mountain may be seen cities and fortresses; kings seated at table, soldiers, with standards standing round. Farther still, Christ and the angels around him, some on their knees, others holding fans, and the devil in flight, looking backwards.

*Christ Changes Water to Wine at the Marriage at Cana*

A table; scribes and Pharisees seated near. The chief personage in the company holds a cup filled with wine and looks astonished. The bridegroom, with gray hair and round beard, is in the midst of the group; the bride stands near him. They wear crowns of flowers on their heads. Behind them, a youth carrying a large vase and pouring wine into a cup. Under the table six jars, which two youths fill from leathern bags. Christ, seated at the head

of the table, blesses them. The Holy Virgin and Joseph are near him, and the apostles behind.

*Christ Blessing the Five Loaves*

Mountains. A child carries a basket containing five loaves and two fish. Christ standing, looking up to heaven, holds the basket with the left hand and blesses with the right. Near him, Philip and Andrew; a multitude seated in five different places. Three apostles, bending down a little, carry baskets on their shoulders; three take pieces of bread in the baskets placed before the men who are sitting down. Others carry the baskets and distribute the portions among the people.

*The Transfiguration*

A mountain with three summits and peaks. Christ stands in white garments upon the middle one: he blesses. A radiating light surrounds him. On the peak to the right, Moses appears, holding the tables of the law. The prophet Elias on that to the left. Both are standing, and gaze supplicatingly at Christ. Below Christ, Peter, James, and John lie prostrate, with heads upturned; they appear lost in ecstasy. Behind, on the mountainside, Christ is again seen, mounting with the three apostles, and showing them the top of the mountain. On the other side the

disciples are seen descending in fear and looking behind. Christ, coming after them, blesses them.

### *The Resurrection of Lazarus*

A mountain with two peaks; behind, the walls of a city of considerable size. The Hebrews in tears issue from the gates and advance toward the centre of the mountain in the background. Before this mountain is a tomb; a man has raised a stone by which it is covered. Lazarus stands upright in the midst of the tomb; another man takes off his winding-sheet. Christ blesses him with one hand; in the other he holds a scroll, and says, "Lazarus, come forth." Behind him are the apostles. Martha and Mary prostrate themselves in adoration at the feet of Jesus.

### *The Mystic Meal (The Last Supper)*

A house. Inside, a table with bread and plates full of viands; a cup and a large flask of wine. Christ seated at this table with his apostles. John at his left side leaning on his breast; Judas to the right stretches out his hand toward a dish and looks at Christ.

### *Pilate Washes His Hands*

A palace. Pilate seated on a throne, his eyes turned toward the Jews. One man before him carrying a

basin and a ewer, pours out the water and washes his hands. Behind him a youth whispers in his ear. Near the throne another youth writes these words on a scroll: "Lead out this Jesus of Nazareth to the public place of execution, and fasten him to a cross between two thieves, for he hath corrupted the people, insulted Cæsar, and, as witnessed by the wise men of the people, he hath falsely proclaimed himself to be the Messiah." The Christ stands before him, soldiers seize upon him, Annas, Caiaphas, and other Jews lay their hands upon the heads of a group of children who stand before them, look toward Pilate, and approve his sentence.

### *Christ Bearing His Cross*

Mountains. Soldiers, on foot and on horseback, surround Christ; some among them carry a standard. Christ, exhausted, falls to the earth and supports himself with one hand. Standing before him, Simon the Cyrenian may be seen, gray-haired and with a round beard, wearing a short dress. He takes the cross upon his own shoulders. Behind him may be seen the Holy Virgin, John Theologos, and other women, weeping. A soldier pushes them back with his baton.

*The Crucifixion of Christ*

Christ upon the cross on a mountain. At each side of him the thieves are to be seen, crucified. The thief to the right, a gray-haired man with round beard, says to Christ: "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." He to the left, young and beardless, turns back and says to him: "If thou art the Christ, save thyself and us." A tablet may be seen, nailed to the top of the cross of Christ, on which are these characters: "I. N. R. I." Below, and to the right, a soldier on horseback pierces the right side of Christ; water and blood flow forth. Behind him, the mother of Christ may be seen insensible; other women, carrying myrrh, support her. Near her John Theologos stands in sorrow, his cheek resting on his hand. St. Longinus, the centurion, looks at Christ; he raises his hand and blesses God. A soldier on horseback to the left holds a sponge attached to the end of a rod, which he reaches to the mouth of Christ. Near at hand are other soldiers, scribes, Pharisees, and a crowd of people. Some speak to each other and point to Christ; others look at him terrified; others contemptuously; others stretch out their hands to him, saying: "He saved others, himself he cannot save." Three soldiers are seated, and parting his garments among them. The central figure has his eyes shut,

and is stretching out his hands toward those of the others on the right and left. At the foot of the cross is a little hollow, inside which may be seen the skull of Adam and two cross-bones, stained by blood that falls from the feet of Jesus.

### *The Resurrection of Christ*

The tomb half-open; two angels clothed in white, seated at each end. Christ tramples on the stone which covered the tomb. He blesses with the right hand, while he holds the banner with the golden cross in the left. Some of the soldiers below take flight; others lie as if dead upon the ground. In the distance are the women carrying myrrh.

### *Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalene*

The tomb; two angels in white are seated above it. Before the tomb, Christ, standing, holds his mantle in one hand; in the other he carries a scroll, on which is written: "Mary, touch me not." Mary, kneeling before him, prays that she may touch his feet.

### *The Ascension of Christ*

A mountain with a grove of olive-trees. Above, the apostles, astonished, with hands outstretched, gaze up to heaven. The Virgin Mother in their midst also

gazes upwards. Two angels clothed in white at her side point out the rising Christ to the apostles. The angels hold scrolls. The angel on the right says: "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven?" The other saith: "This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." Above them, Christ, seated upon clouds, arises into heaven; he is received by a multitude of angels, with trumpets and cymbals and many instruments of music.

### HOW TO REPRESENT THE APOCALYPSE

*Revelation 14: 1*

A high mountain, the Lamb standing on the summit; he wears a crown upon his head, a sceptre in one of his paws — that is to say, a small red flag, with a cross at the end. The evangelical tetramorphs[1] stand at the four corners of the throne. The twenty-four elders and a number of angels, holding harps, are to the right and left. Close by, a crowd of virgins, clad in white, their hands and eyes turned toward the Lamb. Numbers of clouds below, from the tops of which four angels are looking down. One of them carries the gospel open, saying: "Fear God, and give glory to him,

[1] A tetramorph is a figure uniting the four symbols of the Evangelists.

for the hour of his judgment is come." On his right, another angel points to the ground with one hand, and holds a scroll in the other, on which is written: "Babylon is fallen — is fallen that great city." Another angel to her left, with hand stretched out, and another holding a scroll with these words: "If any man worship the beast, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand, he shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God." Under them, the city of Babylon in ruins.

### *The Second Coming of the Lord*

Christ, clothed in white, seated on cherubim and flaming angels. He flings abroad his thunderbolts on sun and moon and stars. Before him appears the symbol of his manifestation: that is to say, the cross. On his left is she, the queenlike mother who gave him birth, a virgin for evermore. Christ advances on the clouds of heaven, to the sound of psalms and hymns and innumerable instruments, by which the heavenly hosts celebrate his glory. He raises his almighty hands in blessing; he holds the gospel open, on which these words may be read: "Come unto me, ye blessed of my Father; inherit the kingdom that I have prepared for you." And also he saith: "Depart from me, ye cursed." Above

him are these words: "Jesus Christ, the joy and the glory of the righteous." All the saints prepare to meet him according to the order in which, through help of divine grace, they have arisen from earth to heaven; they are all seated upon clouds. First come the choir of apostles. Second, the choir of our first parents. Third, the choir of patriarchs. Fourth, the choir of prophets. Fifth, the choir of bishops. Sixth, the choir of martyrs. Seventh, the choir of saints. Eighth, the choir of righteous kings. Ninth, the choir of martyred solitary women. All carry branches in their hands, to signify their virtues. An angel flies in the air and sounds the last trumpet. The earth is below, with its cities and wealth; then the sea, with its ships and boats, gives up the dead it has destroyed. The dead awaken either in their tombs or in the sea; they are filled with fear, and their expressions vary strongly. All are upborne on clouds; but some come before Christ, while sinners are dragged to the place of vengeance. Farther on stand the prophets, holding scrolls, with inscriptions as follows:

Isaiah: "The Lord will come to judge."

Joel: "All nations shall awake and come down."

Daniel: "And many that sleep in the dust shall awaken."

### *The Righteous and Universal Judgment of Our Lord Jesus Christ*

Christ on high, seated on a fiery throne. Clothed in white, he casts his thunderbolts upon the sun. All the mighty angels, struck with terror, tremble at his presence. With his right hand raised he blesses the saints, with the left he shows the place of lamentation and woe. He is encircled by a great light, and above him is written: "Jesus Christ, the Righteous Judge." At either side stand the Holy Virgin and the Harbinger, bending in reverence before him; and the twelve apostles are seated on twelve thrones around. The saints are also present; they stand to the right and hold palm-branches, signs of their power, in their hands. They are divided into three orders: in the first are the choir of the first parents, patriarchs, and prophets; in the second the choir of bishops, martyrs, and solitaires; in the third the choir of righteous kings, holy women or martyrs. On the left hand of Christ are all sinners cast out of his presence and condemned, along with the traitor Judas, and all demons, tyrant kings, idolaters, antichrists, heretics, murderers, traitors, thieves, robbers, those who refuse to give alms, usurers, misers, liars, sorcerers, drunkards, the self-indulgent and impure, and the ungrateful Jews, scribes, and

Pharisees. All utter great cries and wailings. Some tear their beards, others rend their garments. They look toward Jesus and the saints and the prophet Moses, who points to Christ and says upon his scroll: "The Lord will raise up a prophet from among their brethren like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken." The symbol of the cross is before the throne, with the ark of the testament of the Lord, with the witnesses of the law and the prophets, and with the gospel open between two scrolls. Upon the scroll to the right is written: "And the dead were judged every man according to their works." On that to the left is written: "And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire." A river of fire flows beneath Christ's feet, demons cast the wicked and uncharitable into it, and torture them horribly with divers instruments of torture, with harpoons and lances. Others drive them into the flames with pikes, others encircle their bodies like fiery serpents, and drag them into caverns and outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth, and the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched. Hell is seen through rents in the rocks, here men are chained with iron in the darkness, gnashing their teeth, and consumed by the fire that cannot be quenched, and the worm that dieth not. The rich man who has been uncharitable looks out into the

faces of those who in Abraham's bosom rest in paradise among the blessed saints. Paradise is surrounded by a wall of crystal and pure gold, adorned with trees filled with bright birds. To the right and left stand the prophets, holding scrolls thus inscribed:

Daniel: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of Days did sit."

Malachi: "And the day that cometh shall burn them up."

The righteous Judith: "The Lord Almighty will take vengeance."

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